Explanation of the Frontispice.

ac[illegible]ed heat inſpires my Soule to try
[illegible]rs can give me what the Warres deny,
Crowns diſtinctly here in order doe
[illegible]ent their objects to my knowing veiw,
[illegible]hs Crowne lies humbled at my foot, diſdayne,
[illegible]s bright but heavy, and withall but vaine,
And now by Grace a Crowne of thornes I greet,
Sharpe was this Crowne, but not ſo ſharpe as ſweet:
[illegible]is was Chriſts Crowne, my Booke upon my bord
[illegible]plaines my heart, *My hope is in thy Word.*
My ſtarry Crowne of Glory, laſt, I ſee
As full of liſſe, as of Eternitee.
Now looke behinde, and midſt moſt troubled sky
Behold how *clearer I from darknes riſe,*
And ſtand *unmou'd, tryumphant,* like a Rock,
Gainſt all the waves, and winds tempeſtuous ſhock
So like the *Palme,* which heavyeſt weights do try,
Vertue oppreſt, doth grow more ſtraight and high.

Explanation of the Frontispice.

ac[illegible]ed heat inſpires my Soule to try
[illegible]rs can give me what the Warres deny,
Crowns diſtinctly here in order doe
[illegible]ent their objects to my knowing veiw,
[illegible]hs Crowne lies humbled at my foot, diſdayne,
[illegible]s bright but heavy, and withall but vaine,
And now by Grace a Crowne of thornes I greet,
Sharpe was this Crowne, but not ſo ſharpe as ſweet:
[illegible]is was Chriſts Crowne, my Booke upon my bord
[illegible]plaines my heart, *My hope is in thy Word.*
My ſtarry Crowne of Glory, laſt, I ſee
As full of liſſe, as of Eternitee.
Now looke behinde, and midſt moſt troubled sky
Behold how *clearer I from darknes riſe,*
And ſtand *unmou'd, tryumphant,* like a Rock,
Gainſt all the waves, and winds tempeſtuous ſhock
So like the *Palme,* which heavyeſt weights do try,
Vertue oppreſt, doth grow more ſtraight and high.

ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.

THE PORVTRAICTVRE OF HIS SACRED MAIESTIE IN HIS SOLITUDES AND SVFFERINGS.

Together with His MAIESTIES Praiers delivered to Doctor *Juxon* immediatly before His Death.

Also His Majesties *REASONS*, Against the pretended Jurisdiction of the high Court of Justice, which he intended to deliver in Writing on Munday *January* 22. 1648.

ROM. 8.

More then Conquerour &c.

Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est.

M. DC. XLIX.

HARVARD COLLEGE
JUL. 22 1919
LIBRARY
Gift of
J. Pierpont Morgan

The Contents

1. *Upon His Maiesties calling this last Parliament.* p. 1
2 *Upon the Earle of* Strafford's *death.*
3. *Upon His Maiesties going to the House of Commons.* 11
4. *Vpon the Insolency of the Tumults.* 15
5. *Upon His Maiesties passing the Bil for the triennial Parliaments: and after setling this, during the pleasure of the two Houses.* 23
6. *Upon His Maiesties retirement from Westminster.* 30.
7. *Upon the Queenes departure, and absence out of* England. 37
8. *Upon His Majestyes repulse at Hull, and the fates of the* Hothams. 42
9. *Upon the Listing, and raysing armyes against the King.* 48
10. *Upon their seizing the* Kings *Magazines, Forts, Navy, and Militia.* 59
11 *Upon the* 19. *Propositions first sent to the King; and more afterwards.* 67
12 *Vpon the Rebellion and troubles in Ireland.* 81
13. *Upon the calling in of the Scots, and their Comming.* 90
14. *Upon the Covenant.* 99
15. *Upon the many Jealousies raised, and Scandalls cast upon the King, to stirre up the People against him* 110

16. *Vpon the Ordinance against the Common-Prayer-Book.* 124
17. *Of the differences between the King, and the 2. Houſes, in point of Church-Government.* 133
18. *Vpon* Uxbridge-Treaty, *and other Offers made by the King.* 150
19. *Vpon the various events of the Warre; Victories, and Defeats.* 155
20. *Vpon the Reformations of the Times.* 164
21. *Vpon His Maieſties Letters, taken, and divulged.* 172
22. *Vpon His Maieſties leaving* Oxford, *and going to the* Scots. 178
23. *Vpon the* Scots *delivering the King to the* Engliſh; *and his Captivity at* Holmeby. 183
24. *Vpon their Denying his Maieſty the Attendance of his Chaplains.* 187
25. *Penitentiall Meditations and Vowes in the Kings ſolitude at* Holmeby. p. 199
26. *Vpon the Armies Surpriſall of the King at* Holmby, *and the enſuing diſtractions in the two houſes, the army, and the City.* 204
27. *To the Prince of* Wales. 213
28. *Meditations upon Death, after the Votes of Non-addreſſes, and his Maieſties cloſer Impriſonment in* Carisbrook Caſtle. 232

1. Vpon

1. *Vpon His Maieſties calling this laſt* Parliament.

THis laſt Parliament I called not more by others advice, and neceſſity of My affairs, then by my owne choice and inclination; who have alwayes thought the right way of Parliaments moſt ſafe for my Crown, and beſt pleaſing to My People: And although I was not forgetfull of thoſe ſparks, which ſome mens diſtempers formerly ſtudied to kindle in Parliaments, (which by forbearing to convene for ſome yeares, I hoped to have extinguiſhed) yet reſolving with My ſelfe to give all juſt ſatisfaction to modeſt and ſober deſires, and to redreſſe all publique greivances in Church and State; I hoped by My [freedome and their moderation] to prevent all miſunderſtandings, and miſcariages in this; In which, as I feared affaires would meet with ſome paſſion and prejudice in other men, ſo I reſolved they ſhould finde leaſt of them in My ſelfe; not doubting but by the weight of

Reaſon I ſhould counterpoiſe the over-ballancings of any factions.

I was, indeed, ſorry to hear, with what partiality and popular heat Elections were carried in many places; yet hoping that the gravity and diſcretion of other Gentlemen would allay and fix the Commons to a due temperament, (guiding ſome mens wel-meaning zeal by ſuch rules of moderation as are beſt, both to preſerve and reſtore the health of all States and Kingdomes) No man was better pleaſed with the convening of this Parliament, then My ſelfe; who knowing beſt the largeneſſe of My owne Heart toward My peoples good and juſt contentment, pleaſed my ſelfe moſt in that good and firme underſtanding, which would hence grow between Me and My people.

All Jealouſies being laid aſide, My owne and my Children Intereſts gave me many obligations to ſeek and preſerve the love and welfare of my Subjects. The only temporall bleſſing that is left to the ambition of juſt Monarchs, as their greateſt honour and ſafety, next Gods protection; I cared not to leſſen my ſelf in ſome things of my wonted prerogative; ſince I knew I could be no loſer, if I might gain but a recompence in My Subjects affections.

I intended not only to obliege My Friends, but Mine Enemies alſo: exceeding even the deſires of thoſe, that were factiouſly diſcontented, if they did but pretend to any modeſt and ſober ſenſe.

The

The *odium* and offences which ſome mens rigour or remiſſneſs in Church & State had contracted upon my Government, I reſolved to have expiated by ſuch Laws, & regulations for the future, as might not only rectifie what was amiſſe in practiſe, but ſupply what was defective in the conſtitution: No man having a greater zeal to ſee Religion ſetled in Unity, and Order, than My ſelfe; whom it moſt concernes both in piety, and policy; as knowing that no flames of civill diſſentions are more dangerous then thoſe which make Religious pretenſions the grounds of Factions.

I reſolved to reform, what I ſhould by free and full advice in Parliament be convinced to be amiſſe, and to grant whatever My Reaſon & Conſcience told me was fit to be deſired; I wiſh I had kept my ſelfe within thoſe bounds, and not ſuffered My own Iudgement to have been over-born in ſome things, more by others Importunities, then their Arguments; My confidence had leſſe betrayed My ſelf, and My Kingdomes to thoſe advantages which ſome men fought for, who wanted nothing but power and occaſion to do miſchiefe.

But our ſinnes being ripe, there was no preventing of Gods Iuſtice, from reaping that glory in our Calamities, which we robb'd him of in our Proſperity.

For thou (O Lord) haſt made us ſee, that Reſolutions of future Reforming do not alwaies ſatisfie

thy Juſtice, nor prevent thy vengeance for former miſcarriages.

Our ſins have over laid our hopes, Thou haſt taught us to depend on thy mercies to forgive, not on our purpoſe to amend. When thou haſt vindicated thy glory by thy Iudgement, and haſt ſhewed us how unſafe it is to offend thee upon preſumptions afterwards to pleaſe thee; Then I truſt thy mercies will reſtore thoſe bleſſings to us, which we have ſo much abuſed, as to force thee to deprive us of them.

For want of timely repentance of our ſins, thou giveſt us cauſe to repent of thoſe Remedies we too late apply.

Yet I do not Repent of my calling this laſt Parliament, becauſe [O Lord,] I did it with an upright intention to Thy glory, and My Peoples good.

The miſeries which have enſued upon Me and My Kingdomes, are the juſt effects of thy diſpleaſure upon us; and may be yet (through thy mercy) preparatives of us to future bleſſings, and better hearts to enioy them.

O Lord, though thou haſt deprived us of many former comforts; yet grant Me and my People the benefit of our afflictions, and thy chaſtiſements, that thy rod as well as thy Staffe may comfort us: Then ſhall we dare to account them the ſtrokes not of an Enemy but, a Father, when thou giveſt us thoſe humble affections, that meaſure of patience in repentance, which becoms thy Children; I ſhall have no cauſe to repent the miſeries this Parliament hath occaſioned, when by them thou haſt brought

Me

Me and My People, unfeignedly to repent of the ſins we have committed.

Thy Grace is infinitely better with our ſufferings then our peace could be with our ſins. O thou Soveraign goodneſs and wiſdom who over-ruleſt all our Counſels, over rules alſo all our hearts, that the worſe things we ſuffer by thy iuſtice, the better we may be by thy Mercy.

As our ſinnes have turned our Antidotes into poyſon, ſo let thy grace turn our poyſons into Antidotes.

As the ſins of our peace diſpoſed us to this unhappy war, ſo let this Warre prepare us for thy bleſſed Peace.

That although I have but troubleſome Kingdoms here, yet I may attain to that kingdom of peace in My Heart, and in thy Heaven, which Chriſt hath purchaſed, and thou wilt give to thy ſervant, [though a Sinner] *for my Saviours ſake.* Amen.

2: *Vpon the Earle of* Straffords *death.*

I Looked upon my Lord of *Strafford*, as a Gentleman, whoſe great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid, then aſhamed to employ him in the greateſt affaires of State.

For, thoſe were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakings, and this was like enough to betray him to great errours, and many

Enemies; whereof he could not but contract good ſtore, while moving in ſo high a ſpheare, and with ſo vigorous a luſtre, he muſt need, [as the ſun] raiſe many envious exhalations, which condenſed by a popular Odium, were capable to caſt a cloud upon the brighteſt merit and integrity.

Though I cannot in my judgement approve all he did, driven (it may be) by the neceſſities of times, and the Temper of that people, more then led by his own diſpoſition to any height and rigour of actions, yet I could never be convinced of any ſuch criminouſneſſe in him, as willingly to expoſe his life to the ſtroak of Juſtice, and malice of his Enemies.

I never met with more unhappy conjuncture of affaires, then in the buſineſſe of that unfortunate Earl: when between My own unſatisfiedneſſe in Conſcience, and a neceſſity (as ſome told me) of ſatisfying the importunities of ſome people, I was perſwaded by thoſe, that I think wiſhed me well, to chuſe rather what was ſafe, then what ſeemed juſt; preferring the outward peace of My Kingdoms with men, before that inward exactneſſe of Conſcience before God.

And indeed, I am ſo farre from excuſing or denying that complyance on my part (for plenary conſent it was not) to his deſtruction, whom in my judgement I thought not, by any clear Law, gilty of death; That I never bare any touch of Conſcience with greater regret: which

which, as a ſign of my repentance, I have often with ſorrow confeſſed both to God and men, as an act of ſo ſinfull frailty, that it diſcovered more a feare of Man, than of God, whoſe name and place on Earth no man is worthy to bear, who will avoid inconveniences of State, by acts of ſo high injuſtice, as no publique convenience can expiate or compenſate.

I ſee it a bad exchange to wound a mans own Conſcience, thereby to ſalve State ſores; to calme the ſtormes of popular diſcontents, by ſtirring up a tempeſt in a mans own boſome.

Nor hath Gods juſtice failed in the event and ſad conſequences, to ſhew the world the falacy of that Maxime, *Better one man periſh (though uniuſtly) then the people be diſpleaſed, or deſtroyed.*

For, In all likelyhood I could never have ſuffered with My People greater calamities (yet with greater comfort) had I vindicated *Strafford's* innocency, at leaſt by denying to ſigne that deſtructive Bill, according to that juſtice, which my Conſcience ſuggeſted to me, then I have done ſince I gratified ſome mens unthankfull importunities with ſo cruell a favour. And I have obſerved, that thoſe, who counſelled me to ſign that Bill, have been ſo farre from receiving the rewards of ſuch ingratiatings with the people, that no men have bin haraſſed and cruſhed more than they: He only hath bin leaſt vexed by them, who counſelled me not to conſent a-

gainſt the vote of my owne Conſcience, I hope God hath forgiven me and them the ſinfull raſhneſſe of that buſines.

To which being in my Soul ſo fully conſcious, thoſe judgments God hath pleaſed to ſend upon me, are ſo much the more welcome, as a meanes (I hope) which his mercy hath ſanctified ſo to me, as to make me repent of that unjuſt act, (for ſo it was to me) and for the future to teach me, That the beſt rule of policy is to prefer the doing of Iuſtice before all enjoyments, and the peace of my conſcience before the preſervation of my Kingdoms.

Nor hath any thing more fortified my reſolutions againſt all thoſe violent importunityes, which ſince have ſought to gaine alike conſent from me, to Acts, wherein my conſcience is unſatisfied, then the Sharp touches I have had for what paſſed Me, in My Lord of *Straffords* Buſines.

Not that I reſolved to have imployed him in My affaires, againſt the advice of my Parliament, but I would not have had any hand in his Death, of whoſe Guiltleſneſſe I was better aſſured than any man living could be.

Nor were the Crimes objected againſt him ſo clear, as after a long and fair hearing, to give convincing ſatisfaction to the major part of both Houſes; eſpecially that of the Lords, of whom ſcarce a third part were preſent, when the Bill paſſed that Houſe: And for the Houſe of

of Commons, many Gentlemen, diſpoſed enough to diminiſh My L. of *Straffords* greatnes and power, yet unſatisfied of his guilt in Law, durſt not condemne him to die; who for their integrity in their Votes, were by poaſting their names, expoſed to the popular calumny, hatred and fury: which grew then ſo exorbitant in their clamours *for Juſtice*, [that is, to have both my ſelf and the two Houſes vote, and do as they would have us] that many ['tis thought] were rather terrified to concur with the condemning party, then ſatisfied that of right they ought ſo to do.

And that after Act vacating the authority of the precedent, for future imitation, ſufficiently tells the world, that ſome remorſe touched even his moſt implacable Enemies, as knowing he had very hard meaſure, and ſuch as they would be very loath ſhould be repeated to themſelves.

This tenderneſſe and regret I find in my ſoul, for having had any hand [and that very unwillingly God knows] in ſhedding one mans bloud unjuſtly (though under the colour and formalities of Juſtice, and pretences of avoiding publike miſchiefs:) which may, I hope, be ſome evidence before God and Man, to all poſterity, that I am far from bearing juſtly the vaſt load and guilt of all that bloud which hath been ſhed in this unhappy War: which ſome men will needs charge on Me, to eaſe their own ſoules, who am, and ever ſhall be more afraid to take away

away any mans life unjuſtly, then to loſe my own.

But thou, O God of infinite mercies, forgive me that act of ſinfull complyance, which hath greater aggravations upon Me, then any Man. Since I had not the leaſt temptation of envie, or malice againſt him, and by my place ſhould, at leaſt ſo farre; have bin a preſerver of him, as to have denied my conſent to his deſtruction.

O Lord, I acknowledge my tranſgreſſion, and my ſin is ever before me.

Deliver me from bloudguiltineſs, O God, thou God of my ſalvation, and my tongue ſhal ſing of thy righteouſneſs.

Againſt thee have I ſinned, and done this evill in thy ſight, for thou ſaweſt the contradiction between my heart and my hand.

Yet caſt me not away from thy preſence, purge me with the blood of my Redeemer, and I ſhall be clean; waſh me with that pretious efuſion, and I ſhall be whiter then ſnow.

Teach me to learn Righteouſneſſe by thy Judgements, and to ſee my frailtie in thy Juſtice: while I was perſwaded by ſhedding one mans bloud to prevent after-troubles, thou haſt for that, among other ſins, brought upon Me, and upon My Kingdomes, great, long, and heavie troubles.

Make me to preferre Juſtice, which is thy wil, before all contrarie clamours, which are but the diſcoveries of mans iniurious will.

It is too much that they have once overcome me,

to

to pleaſe them by diſpleaſing thee; O never ſuffer me for any Reaſon of State, to go againſt my Reaſon of Conſcience, which is highly to ſin againſt thee, the God of Reaſon, and Iudg of our Conſciences.

Whatever, O Lord, thou ſeeſt fit to deprive me of, yet reſtore unto me the ioy of thy Salvation, and ever uphold me with thy free Spirit; which ſubiects my will to none, but thy light of Reaſon, Iuſtice, and Religion, which ſhines in my Soule, for thou deſireſt Truth in the inward parts, and integritie in the outward expreſſions.

Lord hear the voice of thy Sons, and my Saviours Bloud, which ſpeaks better things: O make me, and my people, to hear the voice of ioy & gladneſs, that the bones which thou haſt broken may reioice in thy Salvation.

---

3 *Upon His Maieſtes going to the Houſe of Commons.*

MY going to the Houſe of Commons to demand juſtice upon the 5. Members, was an act, which my enemies loaded with all the obloquies and exaſperations they could.

It filled indifferent men with great jealouſies and fears; yea; and many of my freinds reſented it as a motion riſing rather from Paſſion than Reaſon, and not guided with ſuch diſcretion

on as the touchines of thoſe times required. But theſe men knew not the faſt motives, and pregnant grounds, with which *I* thought my ſelf ſo furniſhed, that they needed nothing to ſuch evidence, as I could have produced againſt thoſe I charged, ſave only a free & legall Triall, which was all I deſired.

Nor had *I* any temptation of diſpleaſure or revenge againſt thoſe mens perſons, further then I had diſcovered thoſe [as *I* thought] unlawful correſpondencies they had uſed, & engagements they had made to embroyle my Kingdomes; of all which I miſſed but little to have produced writings under ſome mens owne hands, who were the chief contrivers of the following innovations.

Providence would not have it ſo, yet I wanted not ſuch probabilities as were ſufficient to raiſe jealouſies in any Kings heart, who is not wholly ſtupid and neglective of the publick peace, which to preſerve by calling in queſtion halfe a dozen men, in a fair and legall way, (which God knows was all my deſign) could have amounted to no worſe effect, had it ſucceeded, then either to do me and my Kingdome right, in caſe they had bin found guilty; or elſe to have clear'd their innocency, and removed my ſuſpitions; which, as they were not raiſed out of any malice, ſo neither were they in Reaſon to be ſmothered.

What flames of diſcontent this ſpark (though

I ſought by all ſpeedy and poſſible means to quench it) ſoon kindled, all the world is witnes: The aſperſion which ſome men caſt upon that action, as if I had deſigned by force to aſſault the Houſe of Commons, and invade their priviledge, is ſo falſe, that as God beſt knows, I had no ſuch intent; ſo none that attended Me could juſtly gather from any thing I then ſaid, or did, the leaſt intimation of any ſuch thoughts.

That I went attended with ſome Gentlemen as it was no unwonted thing for the Majeſty and ſafety of a King ſo to be attended, eſpecially in diſcontented times, ſo were my followers at that time ſhort of my ordinary guard, and no way proportionable to hazard a tumultuary conflict. Nor were they more ſcared at my comming, then I was unaſſured of not having ſome affronts caſt upon me, if I had none with me to preſerve a reverence to me; For many people had, [at that time] learned to think thoſe hard thoughts, which they have ſince abundantly vented againſt Me, both by words and deeds.

The ſumme of that buſineſſe was this.

Thoſe men and their adherents were then looked upon by the afrighted vulgar as greater Protectors of their Lawes and Liberties, then my ſelf, and ſo worthier of their protection. I leave them to God, and their own Conſciences, who, if guilty of evill machinations; no preſent impunity, or popular vindications of them will

be

be *subter fuge* sufficient to rescue them from those exact Tribunalls.

To which, in the obstructions of justice among men, we must religiously appeale, as being an argument to us Christians of that after unavoidable judgement, which shall rejudge, what among men is but corruptly decided, or not at all.

I endeavoured to have prevented, if God had seen fit, those future commotions, which I foresaw, would in all likelyhood follow some mens activity [if not restrained] and so now hath don to the undoing of many thousands, the more is the pitty.

But to over-awe the freedom of the Houses, or to weaken their just Authority by any violent impressions upon them, was not at all my design: I thought I had so much justice and reason on my side, as should not have needed so rough assistance: and I was resolved rather to bear the repulse with patience, then to use such hazardous extremities.

But thou O Lord art my witnesse in heaven, and in my Heart: if I have purposed anie violence or oppression against the innocent, or if there were anie such wickednesse in my thoughts.

Then let the enemie persecute my soule, and tread my life to the ground, & lay mine Honour in the dust.

Thou that seest not as a man seeth, but lookest beyond all popular appearances, searching the heart,

and

and trying the reins, & bringing to light the hidden things of darkneſſe, ſhew thy ſelf.

Let not my afflictions be eſteemed, as (with wiſe and godly men they cannot be) any argument of my ſinne in that matter, more then their impunity among good men is any ſure token of their innocency.

But forgive them wherein they have done amiſſe, though they are not puniſhed for it in this world.

Save thy ſervant, from the privie conſpiracies & open violence of bloodie and unreaſonable men, according to the uprightnes of my heart, & the innocency of my hands in this matter.

I lead my cauſe, and maintain My Right, O thou that ſitteſt in the Throne, iudging rightlie, that thy Servant may ever reioyce in thy Salvation.

---

4 *Upon the Inſolency of the Tumults,*

I Never thought any thing (except our ſins) more ominouſly preſaging all theſe miſcheifs, which have followed, then thoſe Tumults in London and Westminster, ſoon after the Convening of this Parliament; which were not like a ſtorm at Sea, [which yet wants not its terror] but like an Earth-quake, ſhaking the very foundations of all; then which nothing in the world hath more of horrour.

As

As it is one of the moſt convincing Arguments that there is a God, while his power ſets bounds to the raging of the Seas, ſo 'tis no leſſe, that he reſtraines the madneſſe of the people. Nor doth any thing portend more Gods diſpleaſure againſt a Nation, then when he ſuffers the confluence and clamours of the vulgar, to paſſe all boundaries of Lawes, and reverence to Authority.

VVhich thoſe Tumults did to ſo high degrees of inſolence, that they ſpared not to invade the Honour and Freedome of the two Houſes, menacing, reproaching, ſhaking, yea and aſſaulting ſome Members of both Houſes, as they fancyed, or diſliked them; nor did they forbeare moſt rude and unſeemly deportments both in contemptuous words and actions, to my ſelfe and my Court.

Nor was this a ſhort fit or two of ſhaking, as an Ague, but a quotidian feaver, always encreaſing to higher inflamations, impatient of any mitigation, reſtraint, or remiſſion.

Firſt, they muſt be a guard againſt thoſe fears which ſome men ſcared themſelves and others withall, when indeed nothing was more to be feared and leſſe to be uſed by wiſe men, then thoſe tumultuary confluxes of meane and rude people, who are taught firſt to petition, then to protect, then to dictate, at laſt to command and overawe the Parliament.

All obſtructions in Parliament [that is, all freedom

freedome of differing in Votes, and debating matters with reaſon and candour) muſt be taken away with theſe Tumults: By theſe muſt the Houſes be purged, and all rotten Members (as they pleaſe to count them) caſt out; By theſe the obſtinacy of men reſolved to diſcharg their Conſciences, muſt be ſubdued; by theſe all factious, ſeditious, and ſchiſmaticall propoſalls againſt Government Eccleſiaſticall or Civill, muſt be backed and abetted, till they prevailed.

Generally, who ever had moſt mind to bring forth confuſion and ruine upon Church and State, uſed the midwifery of thoſe Tumults: whoſe riot and impatience was ſuch, that they would not ſtay the ripening & ſeaſon of counſells or fair production of Acts, in the order, gravity, and deliberateneſſe befitting a Parliament; but ripped up with barbarous cruelty, & forcibly cut out abortive Votes, ſuch as their inviters and incouragers moſt fancyed.

Yea, ſo enormous and deteſtable were their outrages, that no ſober man could be without an infinite ſhame and ſorrow to ſee them ſo tolerated, and connived at by ſome, countenanced, encouraged and applauded by others.

What good man had not rather want any thing he moſt deſired for the publique good, then obtain it by ſuch an unlawfull and irreligious means? But mens paſſions and Gods direction ſeldome agree; violent deſignes and motions muſt have ſutable engins, ſuch as too much at-

tend their own ends, ſeldome confine themſelves to Gods means. Force muſt croud in, what reaſon will not lead.

VVho were the chief Demagogues and Patrons of Tumults, to ſend for them, to flatter and embolden them, to direct and turne their clamorous importunities, ſome men yet living are too conſcious to pretend ignorance; God in his due time will let theſe ſee, that thoſe were no fit means to be uſed for attaining his ends.

But, as it is no ſtrange thing for the Sea, to rage when ſtrong winds blow upon it, ſo neither for multitudes to become inſolent, when they have Men of ſome reputation for parts and piety to ſet them on.

That which made their rudeneſſe moſt formidable, was that many Complaints being made, and Meſſages ſent by My ſelf and ſome of both Houſes; yet no order for redreſſe could be obtained with any vigour and efficacy, proportionable to the malignity of that now far ſpread diſeaſe, and predominant miſchiefe.

Such was ſome mens ſtupidity, that they feared no inconvenience: Others petulancy, that they joyed to ſee their betters ſhamefully outraged and abuſed, while they knew their only ſecurity conſiſted in vulgar flattery: So inſenſible were they of mine, or the two Houſes common ſafety and honours.

Nor could ever any order be obtained, impartially to examine, cenſure, & puniſh the known

Bouteſeus, and impudent Incendiaries, who boaſted of the influence they had, and uſed to convoke thoſe Tumults as their advantages ſerved.

Yea, ſome (who ſhould have bin wiſer Statesmen) owned them as friends, commending their Courage, Zeal, and induſtry; which to ſober men could ſeem no better then that of the Devill, who *goes about ſeeking whom he may deceive and devoure.*

I confeſſe when I found ſuch a deafnes, that no Declaration from the Biſhops, who were firſt fouly inſolenced and aſſaulted; nor yet from other Lords and Gentlemen of Honour, nor yet from my ſelf, could take place for the due repreſſion of theſe Tnmults: and ſecuring not only Our freedom in Parliament, but Our very Perſons in the ſtreets; I thought My ſelf not bound by My preſence, to provoke them to higher boldneſſe and contempts; I hoped by My withdrawing to give time, both for the Ebbing of their tumultuous fury, and others regaining ſom degrees of modeſty and ſober ſenſe.

Some may interpret it as an effect of Puſillanimity in any man for popular terrours to deſert his publique ſtation. But I think it a hardineſſe beyond true valour, for a wiſe man to ſet him ſelf againſt the breaking in of a Sea; which to reſiſt, at preſent, threatens imminent danger; but to withdraw, gives it ſpace to ſpend its fury, and gaines a fitter time to repaire the breach. Certainly a Gallant man had rather

fight to great diſadvantages for number and place in the field, in an orderly way, then skuffle with an undiſciplined rabble.

Some ſuſpected and affirmed that *I* meditated a Warre (when *I* went from *whitehall*, only to redeem My Perſon and Conſcience from violence) God knowes *I* did not then thinke of a Warre.

Nor will any prudent man conceive that I would by ſo many former, and ſome after-acts, have ſo much weakned my ſelf, if I had purpoſed to engage in a War, which to decline by all means, I denyed My ſelf in ſo many particulars; Tis evident I had then nō Army to flie unto, for protection, or vindication.

Who can blame Me, or any other, for withdrawing our ſelves from the daily baitings of the Tumults, not knowing whether their fury and diſcontent might not fly ſo high, as to worry and tear thoſe in peices, whom as yet they but played with in their Pawes? God, who is My ſole Judge, is My Witnes in Heaven, that I never had any thoughts of going from My Houſe at *whitehall*, if I could have had but any reaſonable fair Quarter; I was reſolved to bear much, and did ſo, but I did not think My ſelf bound to proſtitute the Majeſty of my place and Perſon, the ſafety of My Wife and Children, to thoſe, who are prone to inſult moſt, when they have objects and opportunity moſt capable of their rudeneſſe and petulancy.

But this buſineſſe of the Tumults (whereof ſome have given already an account to God, others, yet living know themſelves deſperately guilty) Time and the guilt of many hath ſo ſmothered up, and buried, that I think it beſt to leave it, as it is. Onely *I* beleive the juſt Avenger of al diſorders, will in time make thoſe men, and that City, ſee their ſin in the glaſſe of their puniſhment. 'Tis more then an even-lay that they may one day ſee themſelves puniſhed by that way they offended.

Had this Parliament, as it was in its firſt Election and conſtitution, ſate full and free, the Members of both houſes being left to their freedom of Voting, as in all reaſon, honour, and Religion, they ſhould have bin; *I* doubt not but things would have bin ſo carried, as would have given no leſſe content to all good men, then they wiſhed or expected.

For *I* was reſolved to hear reaſon in all things, & to conſent to it ſo far as *I* could comprehend it: but as Swine are to Gardens, and orderly Plantations, ſo are Tumults to Parliaments, and Plebeian concourſes to publick Councels, turning all into diſorders and ſordid confuſions.

I am prone ſometimes to think, that had *I* called this Parliament to any other place in *England* (as *I* might opportunly enough have don) the ſad conſequences in all likelyhood, with Gods bleſſing might have been prevented.

A Parliament would have bin welcom in any

place, no place afforded such confluence of various and vitious humours, as that where it was unhappily convened. But we must leave all to God, who orders our disorders, and magnifies his wisdom most, when our follies and miseries are most discovered.

But thou O Lord art My refuge and defence, to thee I may safely flie, who ruleſt the raging of the Sea, and the madneſſe of the People.

The flouds, O Lord, the flouds are come in upon me, and are readie to overwhelme me.

I look upon My sinnes, and the sinnes of My people, (which are the tumults of our soules against thee O Lord) as the iuſt cauſe of theſe popular inundations which thou permitteſt to overbeare all the banks of loyaltie, modeſtie, Lawes, Juſtice, and Religion.

But thou that gatheredſt the waters into one place, and madeſt the dry land to appeare, and after didſt aſſwage the floud which drowned the world, by the word of thy power: Rebuke thoſe beaſts of the People, and deliver Me from the rudeneſs and ſtrivings of the multitude.

Reſtore, we beſeech thee unto us, the freedomes of our Councells, and Parliaments, make us unpaſſionatly to ſee the light of reaſon; and Religion, and with all order and gravitie to follow it, as it becomes Men and Chriſtians, ſo ſhall we praiſe thy name, who art the God of Order and Councell.

What man cannot, or will not repreſs, thy omnipotent Juſtice can and will.

O

O Lord, give them that are yet living a timely ſence and ſorrow for their great ſinne, whom thou knoweſt guiltie of raiſing or not ſuppreſſing thoſe diſorders: Let ſhame here, and not ſuffering hereafter be their puniſhment.

Set bounds to our paſsions by Reaſon, to our errour by Truth, to our ſeditions by lawes duly executed, and to our ſchiſms, by Charitie, that we may be as thy Jeruſalem, *a Citie at unitie in it ſelfe.*

This grant, O My God, in thy good time for Ieſus Chriſts ſake Amen.

---

5 *Upon his Maieſties paſsing the bill for Trieniall Parliaments, and after, ſetling this, during the pleaſure of the two houſes.*

THat the world might be fully confirmed in My purpoſes at firſt, to contribute what in Juſtice, Reaſon, Honour, and Conſcience I could, to the happy ſucceſſe of this Parliament (which had in me no other deſigne but the generall Good of My Kingdoms) I willingly paſſed the Bill for Trieniall Parliaments; which, as gentle and ſeaſonable Phyſick, might (if well applyed) prevent any diſtempers from getting any head, or prevailing; eſpecially, if the remedy proved not a deſeaſe beyond all remedy.

I conceived this Parliament would find work with convenient Receſſes for the firſt 3. yeares; But I did not imagine that ſome Men would thereby have occaſioned more work then they found to do, by undoing ſo much as they found well don to their hands.

Such is ſome mens activity, that they will needs make worke rather then want it; & chuſe to be doing amiſſe, rather then doe nothing.

When that firſt Act ſeemed too ſcanty to ſatisfy ſome mens fears, and compaſſe publick affairs; I was perſwaded to grant that BILL of Sitting during the pleaſure of the Houſes, which amounted, in ſome mens ſenſe, to as much as the perpetuating of this Parliament. By this Act of higheſt confidence, I hoped for ever to ſhut out, and lock the door upon all preſent jealouſies, and future miſtakes. I confeſſe I did not thereby intend to ſhut My ſelfe out of doores, as ſome men have now requited Me.

True, it was an Act unparallel'd by any of My Predeceſſors; yet cannot in reaſon admit of any worſe interpretation then this, of an extream confidence I had, That my Subjects would not make ill uſe of an Act, by which I declared ſo much to truſt them, as to deny my ſelf in ſo high a point of my Prerogative.

For, good Subjects will never think it juſt or fit that my condition ſhould be worſe by my bettering theirs. Nor indeed would it have been ſo in the events, if ſome men had known as well

with

with moderation to uſe, as with earneſtnes to deſire advantages of doing good or evill.

A continuall Parliament (I thought) would but keep the commonweal in tune, by preſerving Laws in their due execution and vigour; wherein my Intereſt lyes more then any mans, ſince by thoſe Laws, My Rights as a King, would be preſerved no leſſe then My Subjects, which is al I deſired. More then the Law gives Me I would not have, and leſſe the meaneſt Subject ſhould not.

Some (as I have heard) gave it out, that I ſoon repented Me of ſetling that act; & many would needs perſwade Me, I had cauſe ſo to do; But I could not eaſily nor ſudenly ſuſpect ſuch ingratitude in Men of Honour. That the more I granted them, the leſſe I ſhould have and enjoy with them. I ſtill counted my Selfe undiminiſhed by my largeſt Conceſſions, if by them I might gain and confirme the love of my people.

Of which, I do not yet deſpair, but that God will ſtill bleſſe me with increaſe of it, when men ſhall have more leiſure, and leſſe prejudice; that ſo with unpaſſionate repreſentations they may reflect upon thoſe (as *I* think) not more Princely then freindly Contributions, which *I* granted toward the perpetuating of their happines; who are now only miſerable in this, That ſome mens ambition will not give them leave to enioy what *I* intended for their good.

Nor

Nor do I doubt, but that in Gods due time, the Loyall and cleared affections of My people, will ſtrive to returne ſuch retributions of Honour and love to Mee, or my poſterity, as may fully compenſate both the acts of my confidence and my ſufferings for them; which (God knowes) have been neither few, nor ſmall, nor ſhort; occaſioned chiefly by a perſwaſion I had, that I could not grant too much, or diſtruſt too little, to men, that being profeſſedly My Subjects, pretended ſingular piety, and religious ſtrictneſſe.

The Injury of all Injuries; is, That which ſome men will needs load me withall; as if I were a wilfull and reſolved Occaſioner of My owne, and My Subjects miſeries, while (as they confidently, but (God knowes) falſly divulge) I repining at the eſtabliſhment of this Parliament, endeavoured by force and open hoſtility, to undoe what by My Royall aſſent I had done. Sure it had argued a very ſhort ſight of things, and extreme fatuity of minde in Me, ſo farre to binde My owne hands at their requeſt, If I had ſhortly meant to have uſed a Sword againſt them. God knowes, though I had then a ſenſe of injuries; yet not ſuch as to think them worth vindicating by a Warre: I was not then compelled, as ſince, to injure my ſelfe by their not uſing favours, with the ſame candour wherewith they were conferred. The Tumults indeed threatned to abuſe all Acts of Grace, and turne them

them into wantonneſſe; but I thought at length their owne feares, whoſe black arts firſt raiſed up thoſe turbulent Spirits, would force them to conjure them down againe.

Nor if I had juſtly reſented any indignities put upon Me, or others; was I then in any capacity to have taken juſt revenge in an Hoſtile and Warlike way, upon thoſe whom I knew ſo well fortified in the love of the meaner ſort of the people, that I could not have given my enemies greater and more deſired advantages againſt Me, then by ſo unprincely inconſtancy, to have aſſaulted them with Armes, thereby to ſcatter them, whom but lately I had ſolemly ſetled by an Act of Parliament.

God knows, I longed for nothing more then that My ſelfe, and My Subjects might quietly enjoy the fruits of my many condeſcendings.

It had been a Courſe full of ſin, as well as of Hazard, and Diſhonour, for me to go about the cutting up of that by the Sword, which I had ſo lately planted, ſo much (as I thought) to my Subjects content, and Mine owne too, in all probability: if ſome men had not feared where no feare was, whoſe ſecurity conſiſted in ſcaring others.

I thank God, I knew ſo well the ſincerity and uprightneſſe of My owne heart, in paſſing that great Bill, which exceeded the very thoughts of former times; That although I may ſeem leſſe a Politition to men, yet I need no ſecret diſtinctions

ctions or evaſions before God Nor had *I* any reſervations in my own ſoul, when *I* paſſed it; nor repentings after, till *I* ſaw that my letting ſome men go up to the pinacle of the temple, was a temptation to them to caſt me downe headlong.

Concluding, that without a miracle, Monarchy it ſelf, together with Me, could not but be daſhed in peices by ſuch a precipitious fall as they intended, whom God in mercy forgive, and make them ſee at length, That as many Kingdomes as the Devill ſhewed our Saviour, and the glory of them)if they could be at once enioyed by them] are not worth the gaining, by wayes of ſinfull ingratitude and diſhonour, which hazards a Soule worth more worlds, then this hath Kingdoms.

But God hath hitherto preſerved Me, & made Me to ſee, That it is no ſtrange thing for men, left to their own paſſions, either to do much evill themſelvs, or abuſe the over-much goodneſs of others, whereof an ungratefull ſurfet is the moſt deſperate and incurable diſeaſe,

I cannot ſay properly that *I* repent of that Act, ſince *I* have no reflections upon it as a ſin of my will, though an errour of too charitable a iudgment; only *I* am ſorry other mens eyes ſhould be evill, becauſe mine were good.

To thee (O My God) do I ſtill appeale, whoſe Al-diſcerning Juſtice ſees through all the diſguiſes of mens pre.enſions, and deceitfull darkneſſes, of their Hearts. Thou

Thou gavest Me a heart to grant much to my ſubiects, and now I need a heart fitted to ſuffer much from ſome of them.

Thy will be don, though never ſo much to the croſſing of ours, even when we hope to doe what might be moſt conformable to thine & theirs too; who pretended they aimed at nothing elſe.

Let thy Grace teach me wiſely to enioy as well the fruſtratings, as the fulfillings of My beſt hopes, and moſt ſpecious deſires:

I ſee while I thought to allay others fears; I have raiſed My Own; and by ſetling them, have unſetled My ſelf.

Thus have they requited Me evill for good, and hatred for My good will towards them.

O Lord be thou my Pilot in this dark & dangerous ſtorme, which neither admits My return to the Port whence I ſet out, nor My making any other, with that ſafety and honour which I deſigned.

Tis eaſie for thee to keep Me ſafe in the love and confidence of my people; nor is it hard for Thee to preſerve Me amidſt the uniuſt hatred and iealouſies of ſo many, which thou haſt ſuffered ſo far to prevail upon Me, as to be able to pervert and abuſe my Acts of greateſt Indulgence to them, and aſſurance of them.

But no favours from Me can make others more guilty then my ſelfe may be, of miſuſing thoſe many and great ones, which Thou, O Lord, haſt conferred on me.

I beſeech thee give ME and them ſuch Repentance

tance as thou wilt accept, and ſuch graces as we may not abuſe.

Make me ſo far happy as to make a right uſe of others abuſes, and by their failings of Me, to reflect with a reforming diſpleaſure upon my offences againſt thee.

So, although for my ſins I am by other mens ſins deprived of thy temporall bleſſings, yet I may be happy to enioy the comfort of thy mercies, which often raiſe the greateſt Sufferers to be the moſt glorious Saints.

---

6 *Upon his Maieſties retirement from* VVeſtminſter,

WIth what unwillingneſſe I withdrew from WESTMINSTER, let them judge, who, unprovided of tackling and victuall, are forced to Sea by a ſtorme; yet better do ſo, then venture ſplitting or ſinking on a Lee-ſhore.

I ſtayed at *White-Hall*, till I was driven away by ſhame, more then fear, to ſee the barbarous rudeneſſe of thoſe Tumults, who reſolved they would take the boldneſſe to demand any thing, and not leave either My ſelf, or the Members of Parliament, the liberty of our Reaſon, and Conſcience to deny them any thing.

Nor was this intollerable oppreſſion my caſe alone, (though cheifly Mine) For the Lords and Commons

Commons might be content to be over-voted by the Major part of their Houſes, when they had uſed each their owne freedome.

Whoſe agreeing Votes were not by any Law or reaſon concluſive to my Judgement; nor can they include, or carry with them, My conſent, whom they repreſent not in any kinde; Nor am I further bound to agree with the votes of both Houſes, then I ſee them agree with the will of God, with my juſt Rights, as a King, and the generall good of my people. I ſee that as many men; they are ſeldome of one minde, and I may oft ſee, that the major part of them are not in the right.

I had formerly declared to ſober and moderate mindes, how deſirous I was to give all juſt content, when I agreed to ſo many Bills, which had been enough to ſecure and ſatisfie all: If ſome mens Hydropick inſatiableneſſe had not learned to thirſt the more by how much more they drank; whom no fountaine of Royall bounty was able to overcome. ſo reſolved they ſeemed, either utterly to exhauſt it, or barbarouſly to obſtruct it.

Sure, it ceaſes to be Councell when not reaſon is uſed, as to men to perſwade; but force and terrour as to beaſts, to drive and compell men to aſſent to what ever tumultuary patrons ſhall project. Hee deſerves to be a ſlave without pitty, or redemption, that is content to have the rationall ſoveraignty of his Soule, and liber-

ty

ty of his will, and words ſo captivated.

Nor do I think my Kingdoms ſo conſiderable as to preſerve them with the forfeiture of that freedom, which cannot be denyed me as a King; becauſe it belongs, to me as a man, and a Chriſtian, owning the dictates of none, but God to be above me, as obliging me to conſent. Better for me to die, enjoying this Empire of my ſoul, which ſubjects Me only to God, ſo farre as by Reaſon or Religion he directs me, then live with the Title of a King, if it ſhould carry ſuch a vaſſallage with it, as not to ſuffer Me to uſe My Reaſon and Conſcience, in which I declare as a King, to like or diſlike.

So far am I from thinking the Majeſty of the Crown of *England* to be bound by any Coronation *O*ath, in a blind and bruitiſh formality, to conſent to what ever its ſubjects in Parliament ſhall require; as ſome men will needs infer; while denying Me any power of a Negative voice as KING, they are not aſhamed to ſeek to deprive me of the liberty of uſing My Reaſon with a good Conſcience; which themſelves, and all the Commons of ENGLAND enjoy proportionable to their influence on the publique; who would take it very ill to be urged, not to deny, what ever my ſelfe, as King, or the Houſe of Peers with Mee ſhould, not ſo much deſire, as enjoyne them to paſſe. I think my Oath fully diſcharged in that point, by my governing only by ſuch Lawes, as my People with

with the Houſe of Peers have choſen, and my ſelfe have conſented to. I ſhall never think my ſelfe conſcientiouſly tied to go as oft againſt my Conſcience, as I ſhould conſent to ſuch new Propoſalls, which my Reaſon, in Juſtice, Honour, and Religion bids me deny.

Yet ſo tender I ſee ſome men are of their being ſubject to Arbitrary Government, (that is, the Law of anothers will, to which themſelves give no conſent) that they care not with how much diſhonour and abſurdity they make their King the only man, that muſt be ſubject to the will of others, without having power left Him, to uſe His own Reaſon, either in Perſon, or by any Repreſentation.

And if my diſſentings at any time were (as ſome have ſuſpected, and uncharitably avowed) out of error, opiniativeneſſe, weakneſſe, or wilfullneſſe, and what they call Obſtinacy in me (which not true Judgement of things, but ſome vehement prejudice or paſſion hath fixed on my mind) yet can no man think it other then the Badge and Method of Slavery, by ſavage rudeneſſe, and importunate obtruſions of violence, to have the miſt of His Errour and Paſſion diſpelled, which is a ſhadow of Reaſon, and muſt ſerve thoſe that are deſtitute of the ſubſtance. Sure that man cannot be blameable to God or Man, who ſeriouſly endeavours to ſee the beſt reaſon of things, and faithfully followes what Hee takes for Reaſon:

The uprightneſſe of his intentions will excuſe the poſſible failings of his underſtanding; If a Pilot at Sea cannot ſee the Pole-ſtar, it can be no fault in him to ſteere his courſe by ſuch ſtars as do beſt appear to him. It argues rather thoſe men to be conſcious of their defects of Reaſon, and convincing Arguments, who call in the aſſiſtance of meere force to carry on the weakneſſe of their Councells, and Propoſalls. I may, in the Truth and Vprightneſſe of my heart, proteſt before God and men, that I never wilfully oppoſed, or denyed any thing, that was in a fair way, after full and free debates propounded to me by the two Houſes, Further then I thought in good reaſon I might, and was bound to do.

Nor did any thing ever pleaſe me more, then when my judgement ſo concurred with theirs, that I might with good conſcience conſent to them: yea, in many things where not abſolute and morall neceſſity of Reaſon but temporary convenience in point of honour was to be conſidered; I choſe rather to deny my ſelfe, then them; as preferring that which they thought neceſſary for my peoples good, before what I ſaw but convenient for my ſelf:

For I can be content to recede much from my owne intereſts, and Perſonall Rights, of which I conceive my ſelf to be Maſter; but in what concernes Truth, Juſtice, the Right of the Church, and My Crowne, together with the generall good of My Kingdomes: (all which

I am bound to preſerve as much as morally lies in Me,) here I am, and ever ſhall be fixt and reſolute, nor ſhall any man gain My conſent to that, wherein My Heart gives My tongue or hand the Lie; nor will I be brought to affirme that to men, which in My Conſcience I deny before God. I will rather chuſe to wear a Crown of Thorns with My Saviour, then to exchange that of Gold (which is due to me) for one of lead, whoſe embaſſed flexibleneſſe ſhall be forced to bend, and comply to the various, and oft contrary dictates of any Factions; when inſtead of Reaſon, and Publick concernments, they obtrude nothing but what makes for the intereſt of Parties, and flowes from the partialities of private wills, and paſſions.

I know no reſolutions more worthy a Chriſtian King, then to prefer His Conſcience before His Kingdomes.

O my God, preſerve thy ſervant in this Native, Rationall and Religious freedom; For this I believe is thy will, that we ſhould maintain: who, though thou doſt iuſtly require us, to ſubmit our underſtandings & wills to thine; whoſe wiſdome and goodnes can neither erre, nor miſguide us; and ſo farre to deny our carnall reaſon, in order to thy ſacred myſteries, and Commands, that we ſhould believe and obey, rather then diſpute them; yet doſt thou expect from us, only ſuch a reaſonable ſervice of thee, as not to do any thing for thee, againſt our conſciences; & as to the deſires of men, enioyneſt us to try all

things by the touch-ſtone of Reaſon & Laws, which are the rules of Civill Juſtice; and to declare our conſent to that only which our Judgment approve.

Thou knoweſt, O Lord, how unwilling I was to deſert that place, in which thou haſt ſet me, and whereto the affairs of my Kingdoms at preſent did call me.

My People can witneſs how far I have bin content for their good, to deny My Selfe, in what thou haſt ſubjected to my diſpoſall.

O Let not the unthankfull importunities, & tumultuary violence of ſome mens immoderate demands, ever betray Me to that degenerous & unmanly ſlavery, which ſhould make me ſtrengthen them by my conſent in thoſe things, which I think in my Conſcience to be againſt thy glory the good of my Subiects, and the diſcharge of my owne duty to reaſon and Juſtice.

Make me willing to ſuffer the greateſt indignities, & iniuries they preſſe upon Me, rather then commit the leaſt ſinne againſt my Conſcience.

Let the juſt liberties of my people be (as well they may) preſerved in fair, and equall wayes, without the ſlavery of My Soul.

Thou that haſt inveſted Me by thy favours, in the power of a Chriſtian King, ſuffer me not to ſubiect My Reaſon to othor mens paſſions, and deſigns, which to Me ſeem unreaſonable, uniuſt, and irreligious: So ſhall I ſerve thee in the truth and uprightneſſe of my heart, though I cannot ſatisfie theſe men.

Though

Though I be driven from among them, yet give Me grace to walk alwayes uprightly before thee.

Lead Me in the way of Truth and Iuſtice; for theſe, I know, will bring Me at laſt to peace and happineſſe with thee; though for theſe I have much trouble among men.

This I beg of thee for My Saviours ſake.

---

7 *Vpon the Queenes departure, and abſence out of* England,

ALthough I have much cauſe to be troubled at My Wifes departure from Me, and out of My Dominions; yet not Her abſence, ſo much, as the ſcandall of that neceſſity, which drives her away, doth afflict Me. That She ſhould be compelled by My own Subjects, and thoſe pretending to be Proteſtants, to withdraw for Her ſafety: This being the firſt example of any Proteſtant Subjects, that have taken up Arms againſt their King, a Proteſtant: *For* I look upon this now done in *England*, as another Act of the ſame Tragedie which was lately begun in *Sootland*; the brands of that fire being ill quenched, have kindled the like flames here. I fear ſuch motions (ſo little to the adorning of the Proteſtant profeſsion, may occaſion a farther alienation of mind, & divorce of affections in her

from that religion, which is the only thing wherein we differ. Which yet God can, & I pray he would in time take away, & not ſuffer theſe praſtiſes to be any obſtruction to her judgement; ſince it is the motion of thoſe men (for the moſt part) who are yet to ſeek and ſettle their Religion for Doctrine, Government, and good manners, and ſo not to be imputed to the true Engliſh Proteſtants; who continue firme to their former ſetled Principles and Lawes.

I am ſorry My relation to ſo deſerving a Lady, ſhould be any occaſion of her danger and affliction; whoſe merits would have ſerved her for a protection among the ſavage Indians; while their rudeneſſe and barbarity knows not ſo perfectly to hate all Virtues, as ſome mens ſubtilty doth; among whom I yet think few are ſo malicious as to hate Her for Her ſelf. The fault is, that She is my Wife.

All juſtice then as well as affection commands me, to ſtudy her ſecurity, who is only in danger for my ſake; I am content to be toſſed, weather-beaten, & ſhipwrackt, ſo as ſhe may be in ſafe Harbour. This comfort I ſhall enjoy by her ſafety in the midſt of My Perſonal dangers, that I can periſh but halfe, if ſhe be preſerved: In whoſe memory, and hopefull Poſterity, I may yet ſurvive the malice of my enemies, although they ſhould be ſatiated with my bloud.

I muſt leave Her, and them to the love & loyalty of my good ſubjects; & to his protection, who

who is able to puniſh the faults of Princes, and no leſſe ſeverely to reveng the injuries done to Them, by thoſe, who, in all duty and Allegiance, ought to have made good that ſafety, which the Lawes chiefly provide for Princes.

But common civility is in vaine expected from thoſe, that diſpute their Loyalty: Nor can it be ſafe for any relation to a King, to tarry among them who are ſhaking hands with their Allegiance, under pretence of laying faſter hold on their Religion.

'Tis pitty ſo noble and peacefull a ſoule ſhould ſee, much more ſuffer, the rudeneſſe of thoſe who muſt make up their want of juſtice, with inhumanity, and impudence.

Her ſympathy with Me in My afflictions, will make her vertues ſhine with greater luſtre, as ſtars in the darkeſt nights; & aſſure the envious world, that ſhe loves me, not my fortunes.

Neither of us but can eaſily forgive, ſince we do not much blame the unkindneſſe of the Generality, and Vulgar; for we ſee God is pleaſed to try both our patience, by the moſt ſelf-puniſhing ſin, the Ingratitude of thoſe, who having eaten of our bread, and being enriched with Our bounty, have Scornfully lift up themſelves againſt Vs; and thoſe of Our owne Houſhold are become Our Enemies.

I pray God lay not their ſin to their charge; who think to ſatisfie all obligations to duty, by their Corban of Religion; and can leſſe

endure to ſee, then to ſin againſt their benefactours, as well as their Soveraignes.

But even that policy of my Enemies is ſo far veniall, as it was neceſſary to their deſignes, by ſcandalous Articles, and all irreverent demeanour, to ſeek to drive her out of my Kingdomes; leſt, by the influence of Her example, eminent for love as a Wife, and Loyalty as a Subject, Shee ſhould have converted to, or retained in, their love, and Loyalty all thoſe whom they had a purpoſe to pervert.

The leſſe I may be bleſt with Her company, the more I wil retire to God, and my owne Heart, whence no malice can baniſh Her. My Enemies may envy, but they can never deprive me of the enjoyment of her virtues, while I enjoy my ſelf.

Thou, O Lord, whoſe Iuſtice at preſent ſees fit to ſcat er us, let thy mercy in thy due time, re-unite us, on earth, if it be thy will; however bring us both at laſt, to thy heavenly Kingdome.

Preſerve us from the hands of our deſpiteful and deadly Enemies; and prepare us by our ſufferings for thy preſence.

Though we differ in ſome things, as to Religion, (which is My greateſt temporall infelicity) yet Lord give, and accept the ſincerity of our affections, which deſire to ſeek, to find, to embrace every truth of thine.

Let both our Hearts agree in the love of thy ſelfe, and Chriſt crucified for us.

Teach us both what thou wouldſt have us to know, in order to thy glory, our publique relations, and our

our ſoules eternall good, and make us carefull to doe what good we know.

Let neither ignorance of what is neceſſary to be known, nor unbelief, or diſobedience to what we know, be our miſery or our wilfull default.

Let not this great ſcandall of thoſe my Subiects, which profeſſe the ſame Religion with me, be any hindrance to her love of any Truth thou wouldſt have her to learne, nor any hardning of her in any errour, thou wouldſt have cleared to her.

Let mine, and other mens conſtancy be an Antidote againſt the poyſon of their example.

Let the Truth of that Religion I profeſſe, be repreſented to her Iudgement, with all the beauties of Humility, Loyalty, Charity, and Peaceableneſſe; which are the proper fruits, & ornaments of it: Not in the odious diſguiſes of levity, Schiſme, Hereſie, Novelty, Cruelty, and Diſloyalty, which ſome mens practiſes have lately put upon it.

Let her ſee thy ſacred and ſaving Truths, as Thine; that ſhe may believe, love and obey them as Thine, cleared from all ruſt and droſſe of humane mixtures. That in the glaſſe of thy Truth ſhee may ſee thee, in thoſe mercies which thou haſt offered to us, in thy Son Ieſus Chriſt, our only Saviour, & ſerve thee in all thoſe Holy duties, which moſt agree with his Holy Doctrine, and moſt imitable example.

The experience we have of the vanity and uncertainty of all humane glory and greatneſſe in our ſcattering and eclypſes, let it make us both ſo much

much the more ambitious to be inveſted in thoſe durable honours, and perfections, which are only to be found in thy ſelfe, and obtained through Jeſus Chriſt.

---

8. *Upon His Maieſties repulſe at* Hull, *and the fates of the* Hothams.

MY repulſe at *Hull* ſeemed at the firſt view an act of ſo rude diſloyalty, that My greateſt Enemies had ſcarce confidence enough to abett, or owne it: It was the firſt overt Eſſay to be made, how patiently I could beare the Loſſe of My Kingdomes.

God knowes, it affected me more with ſhame and ſorrow for others, then with anger for My ſelfe; nor did the affront done to Me trouble Me ſo much as their ſinne, which admitted no colour or excuſe.

I was reſolved how to beare this, and much more, with patience: But I foreſaw they could hardly conteine themſelves within the compaſſe of this one unworthy act, who had effrontery enough to commit, or countenance it. This was but the hand of that cloud, which was ſoone after to overſpread the whole Kingdom, and caſt all into diſorder and darkneſſe.

For 'tis among the wicked Maximes of bold and

and diſloyall Undertakers, that bad actions muſt alwaies be ſeconded with worſe, and rather not be begun then not carried on; for they think the retreat more dangerous then the aſſault, & hate repentance more then perſeverance in a fault.

This gave me to ſee clearly through all the pious diſguiſes, and ſoft palliations of ſome men; whoſe words were ſomtime ſmoother then oyl, but now *I* ſaw they would prove very Swords.

Againſt which I having (as yet) no defence, but that of a good conſcience, thought it my beſt pollicy [with patience] to bear what I could not retuedy: And in this (I thank God) *I* had the better of HOTHAM, that no diſdain, or emotion of paſſion tranſported me, by the indignitie of his carriage, to do or ſay any thing, unbeſeeming my ſelfe, or unſutable to that temper, which, in greateſt injuries, I think, beſt becoms a Chriſtian, as coming neareſt to the great example of Chriſt.

And, indeed, I deſire alwayes more to remember I am a Chriſtian, than a King; for, what the Majeſty of one might juſtly abhor, the charity of the other is wiling to bear; what the height of a King tempteth to revenge, the humility of a Chriſtian teacheth to forgive. Keeping in compaſſe all thoſe impotent paſſions, whoſe exceſſe injures a man, more then his greateſt Enemies can; for theſe give their malice a full impreſſion on our ſoules, which otherwaies cannot reach very farre, nor do us much hurt.

I cannot but obſerve how God not long after, ſo pleaded, and avenged My cauſe, in the eye of the world, that the moſt wilfully blind cannot avoid the diſpleaſure to ſee it, and with ſome remorſe and fear to own it as a notable ſtroke, and prediction of divine vengeance.

For, Sir *John Hotham* unreproached, unthreatned, uncurſed by any language or ſecret imprecation of Mine, only blaſted with the conſcience of his own wickedneſſe, and falling from one inconſtancy to another, not long after paies his owne and his eldeſt Sons heads, as forfeitures of their diſloyalty, to thoſe men from whom ſurely he might have expected another reward then thus to divide their heads from their bodies, whoſe hearts with them were divided from their KING.

Nor is it ſtrange that they who imployed them at firſt in ſo high a ſervice, and ſo ſucceſſefull to them, ſhould not find mercy enough to forgive Him, who had ſo much premerited of them For, Apoſtacy unto Loyalty ſome men account the moſt unpardonable ſinne.

Nor did a ſolitary vengeance ſerve the turne, the cutting off one head in a Family is not enough to expiate the affront don to the head of the commonweal. The eldeſt ſon muſt be involved in the puniſhment, as he was infected with the ſinne of the Father, againſt the Father of his country: root & branch God cuts off in one day.

Theſe obſervations are obvious to every fancy: God knows, I was ſo far from rejoycing

cing in the *Hotham's* ruine, (though it were such as were able to give the greatest thirst for revenge a full draught, being executed by them, who first imployed him against Me) that I so far pitied him, as I thought he at first acted more against the light of his Conscience, then I hope many other men do in the same cause.

For, he was never thought to be of that superstitious sowrnesse, which some men pretend to, in matters of Religion; which so darkens their judgment that they cannot see any thing of Sin and Rebellion in those means they use, with intents to retrom to their Models, what they call Religion; who think all is Gold of piety, which doth but glister with a shew of Zeale & fervency.

Sir *John Hotham* was (I think) a man of another temper, and so most liable to those downright temptations of ambition, which have no cloak or cheat of religion to impose upon themselves or others.

That which makes me more pity him is, that after he begun to have some inclinations towards a repentance for his sinne, and reparations of his duty to Me, He should be so unhappy as to fall into the hands of their Justice, and not my Mercy, who could as willingly have forgiven him, as he could have asked that favour of Me. For I think clemency a debt, which wee ought to pay to those that crave it, when wee have cause to beleive they would not after abuse

buſe it, ſince God himſelf ſuffers us not to pay any thing for his mercy but only prayers and praiſes.

Poor Gentleman, he is now become a noteable monument of unproſperous diſloyalty, teaching the world by ſo ſad and unfortunate a ſpectacle, that the rude carriage of a Subject towards his Soveraigne carries alwayes its own vengeance, as an unſeparable ſhadow with it, and thoſe oft prove the moſt fatall, and implacable Executioners of it, who were the firſt imployers in the ſervice.

After-times will diſpute it, whether Hotham were more infamous at Hull, or at Tower-hill, though 'tis certain that no puniſhment ſo ſtains a mans Honour, as wilfull perpetrations of unworthy actions, which beſides the conſcience of the ſin, brands with moſt indelible characters of infamy, the name & memory to poſterity, who not engaged in the Factions of the times, have the moſt impartiall reflections on the actions.

But thou, O Lord who haſt in ſo remarkable a way avenged thy ſervant, ſuffer me not to take any ſecret pleaſure in it, for as his death hath ſatisfied the injury he did to me, ſo let me not by it gratifie any paſſion in me, leſt I make thy vengeance to be mine, & conſider the affront againſt me, more then the ſinne againſt thee.

Thou indeed, without any deſire or endeavour of mine, haſt made his miſchief to return on his own head, and his violent dealing to come down on his own pate.

Thou

Thou haſt pleaded my cauſe, even before the ſons of men, and taken the matter into thine own hands, that men may know it was thy work, and ſee that thou, Lord, haſt done it.

I do not, I dare not ſay, ſo let mine enemies periſh O Lord! yea Lord, rather give them repentance, pardon, and impunity, if it be thy bleſſed will.

Let not thy iuſtice prevent the obiects and opportunities of my mercy: yea, let them live and amend who have moſt offended me in ſo high a nature: that I may have thoſe to forgive, who beare moſt proportion in their offences to thoſe treſpaſſes againſt thy Maieſty, which I hope thy mercy hath forgiven me.

Lord lay not their ſins (who yet live) to their charge for condemnation, but to their conſciences for amendment: Let the lightning of this Thunderbolt, which hath been ſo ſevere a puniſhment to one, be a terrour to all.

Diſcover to them their ſinne, who know not they have done amiſſe: and ſcare them from their ſinne, that ſin of malicious wickedneſſe.

That, preventing thy Iudgements by their true repentance, they may eſcape the ſtrokes of thine eternall vengeance.

And do thou, O Lord, eſtabliſh the Throne of thy ſervant in mercy, and truth meeting together: let my Crown ever flouriſh in righteouſneſſe and peace, kiſſing each other.

Heare my prayer, O Lord, who haſt taught us to pray for, to do good to, and to love our Enemies, for thy ſake: who haſt prevented us with offertures of

thy

thy love, even when we were thine Enemies, and hast sent thy Son Iesus Christ to die for us, when we were disposed to crucifie him.

---

9. *Upon the listing, and raising Armies against the* King.

I Finde that I am at the same point and posture I was when they forced Me to leave *White-Hall*: what Tumults could not doe, an Army must; which is but Tumults listed, and enrolled too a better order, but as bad an end: My recesse hath given them confidence that I may be conquered.

And so I easily may as to any outward strength, which, God knowes, is little or none at all: But I have a Soule invincible through Gods grace enabling Me; here I am sure to be Conqueror, if God will give Me such a measure of Constancy, as to feare him more then man: and to love the inward peace of My Conscience, before any outward tranquility.

And must I be opposed with force; because they have not reason wherewith to convince Me? O My Soule! be of good courage, they confesse their knowne weaknesse, as to truth and Justice, who choose rather to contend by Armies then by Arguments.

Is

Is this the reward and thanks that I am to receive for thoſe many Acts of Grace I have lately paſſed, and for thoſe many Indignities I have endured? Is there no way left to make Me a glorious KING but by My ſufferings?

It is a hard and diſputable choice for a King, that loves his People, and deſires their love, either to kill his own Subjects, or to be killed by them.

Are the hazards and miſeries of Civill War in the bowels of My moſt flouriſhing Kingdome, the fruits I muſt now reap, after 17. years living and reigning among them, with ſuch a meaſure of Juſtice, Peace, Plenty, and Religion, as all Nations about either admired, or envied? notwithſtanding ſome miſcarriages in Government, which might eſcape; rather through ill counſell of ſome men driving on their private ends, or the peeviſhnes of others envying the publike ſhould be managed without them, or the hidden and inſuperable neceſſities of State, then any propenſity, I hope, of my ſelfe either to injuriouſnes or oppreſſion.

Whoſe innocent bloud during My Reign have I ſhed, to ſatisfie My luſt, anger, or covetouſnes? what Widdowes or Orphans tears can witneſſe againſt me, the juſt cry of which muſt now be avenged with My own bloud? For the hazards of War are equall, nor doth the Cannon know any reſpect of Perſons.

In vaine is My Perſon excepted by a Paren-

theſis of words, when ſo many hands are armed againſt Me with Swords.

God knowes how much I have ſtudied to ſee what ground of Juſtice is alledged for this War againſt Me; that ſo I might (by giving juſt ſatisfaction) either prevent, or ſoone end ſo unnaturall a motion; which (to many men) ſeemes rather the productions of a ſurfeit of peace, and wantonneſſe of minds, or of private diſcontents, Ambition and Faction (which eaſily find, or make cauſes of quarrell) then any reall obſtructions of publick Juſtice, or Parliamentary Priviledge.

But this is pretended, and this I muſt be able to avoid and anſwer before God in My owne Conſcience; however ſome men are not willing to believe Me, leſt they ſhould condemne themſelves.

VVhen I firſt with drew from *white-hall*, to ſee if I could allay the inſolency of the Tumults, of the not ſuppreſſing of which no account in Reaſon can be given, (where an orderly Guard was granted, but only to oppreſſe both Mine and the Two Houſes freedome of declaring and voting according to every mans Conſcience) what obſtructions of Juſtice were there further then this that what ſeemed juſt to one man, might not ſeeme ſo to another? VVhom did I by power protect againſt the Juſtice of Parliament?

That ſome men withdrew, who feared the partiality of their tryal, (warned by My Lord of

of Straffords death)while the vulgar threatned to be their Oppreſſors,and Judgers of their judges,was from that inſtinct, which is in all creatures to preſerve themſelves.If any others refuſed to appear,where they evidently ſaw the current of Iuſtice & freedom ſo ſtopped and troubled by the Rabble,that their lawfull Judges either durſt not come to the houſes,or not declare their ſenſe with liberty & ſafety, it cannot ſeem ſtrange to any reaſonable man; when the ſole expoſing them to publick *odium* was enough to ruine them, before the cauſe could be heard or tryed.

Had not factious Tumults overborn the Freedom and Honour of the two Houſes; had they aſſerted their Iuſtice againſt them, & made the way open for all the Members quietly to come and declare their Conſciences;I know no man ſo dear to Me, whom I had the leaſt inclination to adviſe either to withdraw himſelfe, or deny appearing upon their ſummons,to whoſe ſentence according to Law,I think every Subject bound to ſtand. Diſtempers (indeed) were riſen to ſo great a height, for want of timely repreſſing the vulgar inſolencies;that thegreateſt guilt of thoſe which were Voted & demanded as Delinquents was this, That they would not ſuffer themſelves to be over-aw'd with the Tumults,and their Patrons;nor compelled to abet by their ſuffrages, or preſence; the deſigns of thoſe men who agitated innovations,and ruine both in Church & State.

In this point I could not but approve their generous constancy and catiousnesse ; further then this I did never allow any mans refractorinesse against the Priviledges and Orders of the Houses; to whom I wished nothing more, then Safety, Fulnesse, and Freedom.

But, the truth is, some men, and those not many, despairing in fair and parliamentary ways, by free deliberations and Votes, to gain the concurrence of the Major part of Lords and Commons, betook themselves (by the desperat e activity of factious Tumults) to sift and terrifie away all those Members whom they saw to be of contrary minds to their purposes.

How oft was the businesse of the Bishops enjoying their Ancient places, and undoubted Priviledges in the House of Peers, carried for them by far the Major part of Lords. Yet after five repulses, contrary to all Order and Custome, it was by tumultuary instigations obtruded again, and by a few carried, when most of the Peers were forced to absent themselvs.

In like manner, was the Bill against Root and Branch brought on by tumultuary Clamours, & schismaticall Terrours; which could never pass, till both houses were sufficiently thinned and over-awed. To which Partiality, while in all reason, Justice, and Religion, My conscience forbids Me by consenting to make up their Votes to Acts of Parliament, I must now be urged with an Army, and constrained either to hazard My owne

owne, and My Kingdoms ruins, by My Defence; or proſtrate My Conſcience to the blind obedience of thoſe men, whoſe zealous ſuperſtition thinks, or pretends, they cannot do God and the Church a greater ſervice, than utterly to deſtroy that Primitive, Apoſtolicall, and anciently Univerſall Government of the Church by Biſhops.

Which if other mens Iudgements bind them to maintaine, or forbids them to conſent to the aboliſhing of it, Mine much more, who, beſides the grounds I have in My Iudgement, have alſo a moſt ſtrikt and indiſpenſable Oath upon My Conſcience, to preſerve that Order, and the Rights of the Church; to which, (moſt Sacrilegious and abhorred Perjury,) moſt un-beſeeming a Chriſtian King, ſhould I ever by giving My conſent, be betrayed, I ſhould account it infinitely greater miſery, then any hath, or can befall Me; in as much, as the leaſt ſinne hath more evill in it, then the greateſt affliction. Had I gratified their Anti-epiſcopall Faction at firſt in this point, with My conſent; and ſacrificed the Eccleſiaſticall Government, and Revenues, to the fury of their covetouſneſſe, ambition, and Revenge, I beleive they would then have found no colourable neceſſity of raiſing an Army to fetch in, and puniſh Delinquents.

That I conſented to the Bill of putting the Biſhops out of the Houſe of Peers, was done

with a firme perſwaſion of their contentednes to ſuffer a preſent diminution in their Rights, and Honour for My ſake, and the Commonweals; which I was confident they would readily yeeld unto rather then occaſion (by the leaſt obſtruction on their part) any dangers to Me, or to My Kingdome. That I cannot adde My conſent for the totall extirpation of that Government (which I have often offered to all fit regulations) hath ſo much further tie upon My Conſcience, as what I think Religious and Apoſtolicall; and ſo very Sacred and Divine, as not to be diſpenſed with, or deſtroyed; when what is only of civill Favor, and priviledge of Honour granted to men of that Order, may with their conſent, who are concerned in it, be annulled.

This is the true ſtate of thoſe obſtructions pretended to be in point of Juſtice and Authority of Parliament; when I call God to witnes, I knew none of ſuch conſequence as was worth ſpeaking of a VVarre, being only ſuch as Juſtice, Reaſon, and Religion had made in My own and other mens Conſciences.

Afterwards indeed a great ſhew of Delinquents was made; which were but conſequences neceſſarily following upon Mine, or others withdrawing from, or defence againſt violence: but thoſe could not be the firſt occaſion of raiſing an Army againſt Me. VVherein I was ſo far from preventing them, (as they have

have declared often, that they might ſeeme to have the advantage and Juſtice of the defenſive part, and load Me with all the envy & injuries of firſt aſſaulting them) that God knows, I had not ſo much as any hopes of an army in My thoughts. Had the Tumults been Honourably and effectually repreſſed by exemplary Iuſtice, and the liberty of the Houſes ſo vindicated, that all Members of either houſe might with Honour and Freedome, becoming ſuch a Senate, have come and diſcharged their Conſciences, I had obtained all that I deſigned by My withdrawing, and had much more willingly, and ſpeedily returned then I retired; this being my neceſſity driving, the other my choiſe deſiring.

But ſome men knew, I was like to bring the ſame judgement and conſtancy, which I carry with me, which would never fit their deſignes: and ſo while they invited me to come, and greivouſly complain'd of my abſence, yet they could not but be pleaſed with it: eſpecially when they had found out that plaſible and popular pretext of raiſing an Army to fetch in Delinquents: when all that while they never puniſhed the greateſt and moſt intolerable Delinquency of the Tumults, and their Exciters, which drave my ſelfe, and ſo many of both Houſes from their places, by moſt barbarous indignities, which yet in all reaſon and Honour, they were as loath to have deſerted

as thoſe others were willing they ſhould, that ſo they might have occaſion to perſecute them with the Injuries of an Army, for not ſuffering more tamely the Injuries of the Tumults.

That this is the true ſtate, and firſt drift and deſigne in raiſing an Army againſt Me, is by the ſequell ſo evident, that all other pretences vaniſh. For when they declared by Propoſitions, or Treaties, what they would have to appeaſe them; there was nothing of conſequence offered to Me, or demanded of Me, as any originall difference in any point of Law, or order of Juſtice. But among other leſſer Innovations, this chiefly was urged, The Abolition of Epiſcopall, and the Eſtabliſhment of Presbyterian Government.

All other things at any time propounded were either impertinent as to any ground of a War, or eaſily granted by Me, and only to make up a number, or elſe they were meerly conſequentiall, and acceſſary, after the Warre was by them unjuſtly began.

I cannot hinder other mens thoughts, whom the noiſe and ſhew of piety, and heat for Reformation and Religion, might eaſily ſo fill with prejudice, that all equality and clearneſſe of judgement might be obſtructed. But this was, and is, as to my beſt obſervation, the true ſtate of affaires betweene us, when they firſt raiſed an Army, with this deſigne, either to ſtop My mouth, or to force My conſent: and

in

in this truth, as to My conſcience, (who was (God knowes) as far from meditating a VVar, as I was in the eye of the world from having any preparation for one) I find that comfort, that in the midſt of all the unfortunate ſucceſſes of this VVar, on My ſide, I do not think My Innocencie any whit prejudiced or darkned; Nor am I without that integrity, and Peace before God, as with humble confidence to addreſſe My Prayer to Him.

For Thou, O Lord, ſeeſt clearly through all the cloudings of humane affaires; Thou Judgeſt without preiudice: Thy Omniſcience eternally guids thy unerrable Iudgement.

O my God, the proud are riſen againſt me, and the aſſemblies of violent men have ſought after my ſoule, and have not ſet Thee before their eyes.

Conſider my Enemies, O Lord, for they are many, & they hate me with deadly hatred, without acauſe.

For Thou knoweſt, I had no paſſion, deſigne or preparation to embroyle My Kingdoms in a Civill War; whereto I had leaſt temptation; as knowing I muſt adventure more then any, and could gaine leaſt of any by it.

Thou O Lord, art my witneſſe how oft I have deplored, and ſtudied to divert the neceſſity thereof, wherein I cannot well be thought ſo prodigally thirſty of my Subiects blood, as to venture my own life, which I have bin oft compelled to dè in this unhappy Warre; and which were better ſpent to ſave then to deſtroy my People.

O

O Lord; I need much of thy grace, with patience to bear the many afflictions thou haſt ſuffered ſome men to bring upon me; but much more to bear the uniuſt reproaches of thoſe, who not content that I ſuffer moſt by warre, will needs perſwade the world that I have raiſed firſt, or given juſt cauſe to raiſe it.

The confidence of ſome mens falſe tougues is ſuch, that they would make me almoſt ſuſpect my own Innocency yea, I could be content (at leaſt by my ſilence) to take upon me ſo great a guilt before men, If by that I might allay the malice of my Enemies, & redeeme My People from this miſerable Warre; ſince thou O Lord knoweſt my Innocency in this thing. Thou wilt find out bloudy & deceitfull men; many of whom have not lived out half their dayes, in which they promiſed themſelves the enioyment of the fruits of their violent and wicked Councells.

Save, O Lord thy ſervant, as hitherto thou haſt; and in thy due time ſcatter the people that delight in War.

Ariſe O Lord, lift up thy ſelfe, becauſe of the rage of mine Enemyes, which encreaſeth more and more: Behold them that have conceived miſchief, travelled with iniquity, and brought forth falſhood.

Thou knoweſt the chief deſigne of this Warre is, either to deſtroy my Perſon, or force My Iudgement, and to make Me renege my Conſcience and thy Truth.

I am driven to croſſe Davids choice; and deſire

ſire rather to fall into the hands of men, by denying them, (though their mercy be cruell) then into thy hands by ſinning againſt My Conſcience, and in that againſt thee, who art a conſuming fire; Better they deſtroy Me, then thou ſhouldeſt damne Me.

Be thou ever the defence of My ſoule, who wilt ſave the upright in heart.

If nothing but My bloud will ſatisfie My Enemies, or quench the flames of My Kingdomes, or thy temporall Iuſtice, I am content, if it be thy will, that it be ſhed by Mine owne Subiects hands.

But O let the bloud of Me, though their King, yet a ſinner, be daſhed with the bloud of My Innocent and peace-making Redeemer, for in that thy Iuſtice, will find not only a temporary expiation, but an eternall plenary ſatisfaction; both for my ſins, and the ſins of my People; whom I beſeech thee ſtill owne for thine; and when thy wrath is appeaſed by my Death, O Remember thy great mercies toward them, and forgive them, O my Father, for they know not what they doe.

---

10. *Upon their ſeizing the Kings Magazines, Forts, Navy, and Militia.*

HOw untruly I am Charged with the firſt raiſing of an ARMY, and beginning this

this Civill Warre, the eyes that only pitty me, and the Loyall hearts that durſt only pray for me, at firſt, might witneſſe, which yet appeare not ſo many on my ſide, as there were men in Arms liſted againſt me; my unpreparedneſſe for a War may well diſ-hearten thoſe that would help me; while it argues (truly) my unwillingneſſe to fight, yet it teſtifies for Me, that I am ſet on the defenſive part; having ſo little hopes or power to offend others, that I have none to defend my ſelfe, or to preſerve what is mine own from their prereption.

No man can doubt but they prevented Me, in their purpoſes, as well as their injuries, who are ſo much before-hand in their preparations againſt Me, and ſurprizalls of My ſtrength. Such as are not for Them, yet dare not be for Me; ſo overaw'd is their Loyalty by the others numbers and terrours. I beleive my Innocency, and unpreparedneſſe to aſſert my Rights and Honour, makes Me the more guilty in their eſteem; who would not ſo eaſily have declared a war againſt Me, if I had firſt aſſaulted them.

They knew my chiefeſt Arms left Me, were thoſe only, which the ancient Chriſtians were wont to uſe againſt their Perſecutors, Prayers and Tears. *Theſe* may ſerve a good mans turn, if not to Conquer as a Souldier, yet to Suffer as a Martyr.

Their preventing of Me, and ſurprizing My Caſtles, Forts, Armes, and Navy, with the Militia

Militia, is ſo far beſt for Me, That it may drive me from putting any truſt in the arme of fleſh, and wholy to caſt my ſelf into the protection of the living God, who can ſave by few, or none, as well as by many.

He that made the greedy Ravens to be Elyas Caterers, and bring him foode, may alſo make their ſurprizall of outward force and defence, an opportunity to ſhew me the ſpeciall ſupport of his power and protection.

I thank God I reckon not now the want of the Militia ſo much in reference to My owne protection as My Peoples.

Their many and ſore oppreſſions greive Me, I am above My Owne; what I want in the hands of Force and Power, I have in the wings of faith and Prayer.

But this is the ſtrange method theſe Men will needs take to reſolve their riddle of making me a glorious King, by taking away my Kingly power: Thus I ſhall become a ſupport to My Freinds, and a Terrour to My Enemies, by being unable to ſuccour the one, or ſuppreſs the other. For thus have they deſigned, & propoſed to Me the new-modelling of Soveraignty and kingſhip; as without any reality of power, ſo without any neceſſity of ſubjection and obedience; That the Majeſty of the Kings of England might hereafter hang like Mahomets Tomb, by a magnetique Charm, between the Power and Priviledges of the two Houſes in an aiery imagination of Regality.

But

But, I believe, the ſurfet of too much Power, which ſome men have greedily ſeiz'd on, & now ſeek wholly to devour, wil ere long make the Common-wealth ſick both of it and them, ſince they cannot well digeſt it; Soveraigne Power in Subjects ſeldome agreeing with the ſtomacks of fellow Subjects.

Yet I have even in this point of the conſtant *Militia* ſought, by ſatisfying their feares, and importunities, both to ſecure My Freinds, & overcom Mine enemies, to gain the peace of al, by depriving My ſelf of a ſole power to helpe, or hurt any: yeilding the *Militia* (which is my undoubted Right no leſſe than the Crowne) to be diſpoſed of; as the two Houſes ſhall thinke fit, during My time.

So willing am I to bury all jealouſies of me, in them, & to live above all jealouſies of them, as to My ſelf; I deſire not to be ſafer than I wiſh them & My People, if I had the ſole actuall diſpoſing of the *Militia*, I could not protect My People, further than they protected Me, & themſelvs: ſo that the uſe of the *Militia* is mutuall. I would but defend My ſelf ſo far, as to be able to defend My good Subjects from thoſe mens violence and fraud, who conſcious to their own evill merits and deſignes, will needs perſwade the world, that none but Wolves are fit to be truſted with the cuſtody of the Shepheard and his Flock. Miſerable experience hath taught My Subjects, ſince Power hath beene wreſted from

from Me, and imployed againſt Me and Them, that neither can be ſafe, if both be not in ſuch a way as the Law hath entruſted the publique ſafety and welfare.

Yet even this Confeſſion of Mine as to the exerciſe of the *Militia*, ſo vaſt and large, is not ſatisfactory to ſome men; which ſeeme to be Enemies not to Me onely, but to all Monarchy; and are reſolved to tranſmit to poſterity ſuch Jealouſies of the Crowne, as they ſhould never permit it to enjoy its juſt and neceſſary Rights, in point of Power; to which (at laſt) all Law is reſolved, while thereby it is beſt protected.

But here Honour and Juſtice, due to My Succeſſors, forbid Me to yeild to ſuch a totall alienation of that power from them, which civility and duty (no leſſe then juſtice and honour) ſhould have forbad them to have asked of Me.

For, although I can be content to Eclypſe My owne beames, to ſatisfie their feares, who think they muſt needs be ſcorched or blinded, if I ſhould ſhine in the full luſture of Kingly Power, wherewith God and the Lawes have inveſted Me; yet I will never conſent to put out the Sun of Soveraignty to all Poſterity, and ſucceeding Kings; whoſe juſt recovery of their Rights, from unjuſt uſurpations and extortions, ſhall never be prejudiced or obſtructed by any Act of Mine; which indeed would not be more injurious to ſucceeding Kings, than to My Subjects; whom I deſire

to

to leave in a condition not wholly deſperate for the future; ſo as by a Law to be ever ſubjected to thoſe many factious diſtractions, which muſt needs follow the many-headed *Hydra* of Government: which, as it makes a ſhew to the People to have more eyes to foreſee, ſo they wil find it hath more mouths too, which muſt be ſatisfied: and (at beſt) it hath rather a monſtroſity, than any thing of perfection, beyond that of right Monarcy; where counſell may be in many as the ſenſes, but the ſupreame Power can be but in One as the Head.

Happily, when men have tried the horrours and malignant influence which will certainly follow My enforced darkneſſe and Eclypſe, (occaſioned by the interpoſition and ſhaddow of that body, which as the Moon receiveth its chiefeſt light from Me) they will at length more eſteem and welcome the reſtored glory and bleſſing of the Suns light.

And, if at preſent I may ſeem by My receding ſo much from the uſe of My Right in the power of the *Militia*, to come ſhort of the diſcharge of that truſt, to which I am ſworne for My Peoples protection. I conceive thoſe men are guilty of the enforced perjury, (if ſo it may ſeem) who compell Me to take this new and ſtrange way of diſcharging My truſt, by ſeeming to deſert it; of protecting My Subjects, by expoſing My ſelfe to danger or diſhonour, for their ſafety and quiet.

VVhich

VVhich, in the conflicts of Civill VVar and advantages of Power, cannot be effected but by ſome ſide yeilding; to which the greateſt love of the publique Peace, and the firmeſt aſſurance of Gods protection (ariſing from a good conſcience) doth more invite Me, than can be expected from othet mens fears; which ariſing from the injuſtice of their Actions (though never ſo ſucceſſefull) yet dare not adventure their Authors upon any other way of ſafety then that of the Sword and *Militia*; which yet are but weak defences againſt the ſtroaks of divine vengeance, which will overtake; or of mens owne Conſciences, which alwayes attend injurious perpetraſions.

For my ſelfe, I do not think that I can want any thing which providentiall neceſſity is pleaſed to take from Me, in order to my Peoples tranquillity and Gods glory, whoſe protection is ſufficient for me; and he is able, by his being with me, abundantly to compenſate to Me, as he did to *Iob*, what ever honour, power, or liberty the Caldeans, the Sabeans, or the Devill himſelfe can deprive Me of.

Although they take from Me all defence of Armes and *Militia*; all refuge by Land, of Forts, and Caſtles; all flight by Sea in My Ships, and Navie; yea, though they ſtudy to Rob me of the Hearts of my Subjects, the greateſt Treaſure & beſt Ammunition of a King, yet cannot they deprive me of my own innocency, or Gods mer-

cy nor obſtruct My way to Heaven.

Therefore, O my God, to thee I flye for help, if thou wilt be on my ſide, I ſhall have more with me then can be againſt me.

There is none in Heaven, or in Earth, that I deſire in compariſon of thee; In the loſs of all, be thou more then all to me: Make haſt to ſuccour me, thou that never faileſt them that put their truſt in thee.

Thou ſeeſt I have no power to oppoſe them that come againſt me, who are encouraged to fight under the pretence of fighting for me: But my eyes are toward thee.

Thou needeſt no help, nor ſhall I, if I may have thine; If not to conquer, yet at leaſt to ſuffer.

If thou delighteſt not in my ſafety, & proſperity, behold here am I, willing to be reduced to what thou wilt have me; whoſe Judgements oft begin with thy own Children.

I am content to be nothing, that thou mayſt be all.

Thou haſt taught me, That no King can be ſaved by the multitude of an Hoſt; but yet thou canſt ſave me by the multitude of thy mercyes, who art the Lord of Hoſts, and the Father of mercies.

Help Me, O Lord, who am ſore diſtreſſed on every ſide; yet be thou on my ſide, and I ſhall not feare what man can do unto me. I will give thy juſtice the glory of my diſtreſſe.

O let thy mercy have the glory of my deliverance from them that perſecute my Soule!

By my ſinnes have I fought againſt thee, and rob-

robbed thee of thy glory, who am thy ſubiect; and iuſtly mayſt thou, by my owne Subiects, ſtrip me of my ſtrength, and eclypſe my glory.

But ſhew thy ſelfe, O my hope, and only refuge! Let not mine Enemies ſay, There is no help for him in his God.

Hold up my goings in thy paths, that my footſteps ſlip not.

Keep me as the apple of thine eye, hide me under the ſhaddow of thy wings.

Shew thy marveilous loving kindneſſe, O thou that ſaveſt by thy right hand them that put their truſt in thee, from thoſe that riſe up againſt them.

From the wicked that oppreſſe me, from my deadly Enemies that compaſſe me about.

Shew me the path of life. In thy preſence is fulneſſe of Ioy, at thy right hand there are pleaſures for evermore.

II. *Vpon the* 19. *Propoſitions firſt ſent to the* King; *and more afterwards.*

ALthough there be many things, they demand, yet if theſe be all, I am glad to ſee at what price they ſet My owne ſafety, and My Peoples peace; which I cannot thinke I buye at too deare a rate, ſave onely

the parting with my Conſcience and Honour. If nothing elſe will ſatisfye, I muſt chuſe rather to be as miſerable, and inglorious, as My Enemies can make or wiſh Me.

Some things here propounded to me have bin offered by me; Others are eaſily granted; The reſt (*I* think) ought not to be obtruded upon me, with the point of the Sword; nor urged with the injuries of a war; when I have already declared that I cannot yeild to them, without violating my Conſcience: 'tis ſtrange, there can be no method of peace, but by making Warre upon My Soul.

Here are many things required of me; but I ſee nothing offer'd to me, by the way of gratefull exchange of Honour; or any requitall for thoſe favours, I have, or can yet grant them.

This Honour they doe me, to put me on the giving part, which is more princely and divine. They cannot ask more than I can give, may I but reſerve to my ſelf the incommunicable Jewell of my Conſcience; and not be forced to part with that, whoſe loſs nothing can repair or requite.

Some things (which they are pleaſed to propound) ſeem unreaſonable to Me; and while I have any maſtery of My Reaſon, how can they think I can conſent to them? who know they be ſuch as are inconſiſtent with being either a KING, or a good Chriſtian. My yeilding ſo much (as I have already) makes ſome men confident I will deny nothing. The

The love I have of My Peoples peace, hath (indeed) great influence upon me; but the love of Truth, and inward peace, hath more.

Should I grant ſome things they require, I ſhould not ſo much weaken My outward ſtate of a King; as wound that inward quiet of My Conſcience, which ought to be, is, and ever ſhall be (by Gods grace) dearer to Me than My kingdomes.

Some things which a King might approve yet in Honour & Policy are at ſome time to be denyed, to ſome men, leſt he ſhould ſeeme not to dare to deny any thing; and give too much incouragement to unreaſonable Demands, or importunities.

But to bind My ſelfe to a generall and implicite conſent, to what ever they ſhall deſire, or propound, (for ſuch is one of their Propoſitions) were ſuch a latitude of blind obedience, as never was expected from any Free-man, nor fit to be required of any man, much leſſe of a King, by His owne Subjects; any of whom he may poſſibly exceed as much in wiſdome, as he doth in place and power.

This were as if *Sampſon* ſhould have conſented, not only to bind his owne hands, and cut off his hair, but to put out his own eyes, that the *Philiſtins* might with the more ſafety mock, and abuſe him; which they choſe rather to doe, then quite to deſtroy him, when he was become ſo tame an object, & fit occaſion for their ſport and ſcorne.

Certainly, to exclude all power of deniall, ſeemes an arrogancy, leaſt of all becomming thoſe who pretend to make their addreſſes in an humble and loyall way of petitioning; who, by that, ſufficiently confeſſe their owne inferiority; which obligeth them to reſt, if not ſatisfied, yet quieted with ſuch an anſwer as the will and reaſon of their Superiour thinks fit to give; who is acknowledged to have a freedome and power of Reaſon, to Conſent, or Diſſent; elſe it were very fooliſh and abſurd to ask, what another having not liberty to deny, neither hath power to grant.

But if this be My Right belonging to Me, in Reaſon, as a Man, and in Honour as a Soveraign King, (as undoubtedly it doth) how can it be other then extream injury to confine my Reaſon to a neceſſity of granting all they have a mind to ask, whoſe minds may be as differing from mine both in Reaſon and Honour, as their aims may be, and their qualities are; which laſt God and the Laws have ſufficiently diſtinguiſht, making me their Soveraigne, and them my Subjects: whoſe Propoſitions may ſoone prove violent oppoſitions, if once they gaine to be neceſſary impoſitions upon the Regall Authority. Since no man ſeeks to limit & confine his King, in Reaſon, who hath not a ſecret aime to ſhare with him, or uſurp upon him in power & dominion. But they would have me truſt to their moderation, and abandon mine own diſcretion;

that

that ſo I might verifie what repreſentations ſome have made of me to the world, that I am fitter to be their Pupill then their Prince. Truly I am not ſo confident of my own ſufficiency, as not willingly to admit the Counſell of others: But yet I am not ſo diffident of my ſelf, as brutiſhly to ſubmit to any mans dictates,& at once to betray the Soveraignty of Reaſon in my ſoul, and the Majeſty of my own Crown to any of my Snbjects.

Leaſt of all have I any ground of credulity,to induce me fully to ſubmit to all the deſires of thoſe men, who will not admit,or, do refuſe, and neglect to vindicate the freedome of their own and others, Sitting and Voting in Parliament.

Beſides, all men that know them, know this, how young States-men (the moſt part) of theſe Propounders are; ſo that, till experience of one ſeven yearts hath ſhewed me,how well they can Govern themſelves, and ſo much power as is wreſted from me, I ſhould be very fooliſh indeed, & unfaithfull in my Truſt,to put the reins of both Reaſon and Government,wholly out of my own, into to their hands, whoſe driving is already too much like *Iehues*; and whoſe forwardneſſe to aſcend the Throne of Suprem acy portends more of *Phaeton* then of *Phœbus*; God divert the Omen if it be his will.

They may remember,that at beſt they ſit in Parliament as My Subjects, not my ſuperiours,

called to be my Counſellours, not Dictators: Their Summons extends to Recommend their advice, not to command my Duty.

VVhen I firſt heard of Propoſitions to be ſent Me, I expected either ſome good Lawes, which had been antiquated by the courſe of time, or overlayd by the corruption of manners, had bin deſired to a reſtauration of their vigour and due execution; or ſome evill cuſtomes preter-legall, and abuſes perſonall had been to be removed; or ſome injuries done by My ſelfe, and others, to the Common-weale, were to be repaired; or ſome equable offertures were to be tendred to Me, wherein the advantages of my Crowne, being conſidered by them, might fairly induce me to condeſcend, to what tended to my Subjects good, without any great diminution of My ſelfe; whom Nature, Law, Reaſon, and Religion, bind me (in the firſt place) to preſerve: without which, 'tis impoſſible to preſerve my People according to my Place.

Or (at leaſt) I looked for ſuch moderate deſires of due Reformation of what was (indeed) amiſſe in Church and State, as might ſtill preſerve the foundation and eſſentialls of Government in both; not ſhake and quite overthrow either of them, without any regard of the Lawes, inforce, the wiſdome and piety of former Parliaments, the ancient and univerſall practiſe of Chriſtian Churches; the Rights and Priviledges of particular men.

Nor

Nor yet any thing offered in lieu, or in the roome of what muſt be deſtroyed, which might at once reach the good end of the others Inſtitution, and alſo ſupply its pretended defects, reforme its abuſes, and ſatisfie ſober and wiſe men, not with ſoft and ſpecious words, pretending zeale and ſpeciall piety, but with pregnant & ſolid reaſons both divine and humane, which might juſtifie the abruptneſſe and neceſſity of ſuch vaſt alterations.

But in all their Propoſitions I can obſerve little of theſe kinds, or to theſe ends; Nothing of any Lawes diſ-joynted, which are to be reſtored; of any right invaded; of any Juſtice to be unobſtructed; of any compenſations to be made; of any impartiall reformation to be granted; to al, or any of which, reaſon, Religion, true Policy, or any other humane motives, might induce me.

But, as to the maine matters propounded by them at any time, in which is either great novelty, or difficulty, I perceive that what were formerly look't upon as Factions in the State, and Schiſmes in the Church, and ſo, puniſhable by the Lawes, have now the confidence, by vulgar clamours, and aſſiſtance (chiefly) to demand not only Tolerations of themſelves, in their vanity, novelty, and confuſion; but alſo Abolition of the Lawes againſt them; and a totall extirpation of that Government, whoſe Rights they have a mind to invade.

This, as to the maine; other Propoſitions are

are(for the moſt part) but as waſte paper, in thoſe which are wrapped up,to preſent them ſomewhat more handſomely.Nor do I ſo much wonder at the variety,& horrible novelty of ſome Propoſitions(therebeing nothing ſo monſtrous,which ſome fancies are not prone to long for. This caſts me into,not an admiration,but an extaſie, how ſuch things ſhould have the fortun to be propounded in the name of the two Houſes of the Parliament of *England*:among whom, I am very confident, there was not a fourth part of the Members of either Houſe, whoſe judgements free, ſingle,and apart did approve or deſire ſuch dſtructive changes in the Government of the Church.

I am perſwaded there remaines in far the major part of both Houſes, (if free and full) ſo much learning,Reaſon, Religion,and juſt moderation as to know how to ſever between the uſe and the abuſe of things; the inſtitution,& the corruption, the Government and the Miſ-government,the Primitive Patterns; and the abberrations or blottings of after Copies.

Sure they could not all, upon ſo little, or no reaſon(as yet produced to the contrary)ſo ſoon renounce all regard to the Lawes in force,to antiquity,to the piety of their reforming Progenitors,to the proſperity of former times in this Church & ſtate,under the preſent Government of the Church.

Yet, by a ſtrange fatality,theſe men ſuffer, either

either by their abſence,or ſilence,or negligence, or ſupine credulity(believing that all is Gold, which is guilded with ſhewes of Zeale and Reformation) their private diſſenting in judgement to be drawne into the common ſewer or ſtream of the preſent vogue and humour; which hath its chief riſe and abetment from thoſe popular clamours and Tumults, which ſerved to give life and ſtrength to the infinite activity of thoſe men,who ſtudied with all diligence, and policy,to improve to their Innovating deſignes, the preſent diſtractions.

Such Armies of Propoſitions having ſo little, in My Judgement,of reaſon, Juſtice,and Religion on their ſide,as they had Tumult and Faction for their riſe, muſt not go alone, but ever be backt and ſeconded, with Armies of Souldiers: Though the ſecond ſhould prevaile againſt My Perſon,yet the firſt ſhall never overcome Me, further than I ſee cauſe; for,I look not at their number and power ſo much, as I weigh their Reaſon and Juſtice.

Had the two Houſes firſt ſued out their livery, and once effectually redeemed themſelves from the Wardſhip of the Tumults,(which can be no other than the Hounds that attend the cry, and hollow of thoſe Men,who hunt after Factious and private Deſignes, to the ruine of Church and State.)

Did my judgement tell Me,that the Propoſitions ſent to Me were the Reſults of the Major

jor part of their votes, who exerciſe their freedome, as well as they have a right to ſit in Parliament, I ſhould then ſuſpect My own judgement; for not ſpeedily & fully concurring with every one of them.

For, I have charity enough to think, there are wiſe men among them: and humility to think, that, as in ſome things I may want; ſo tis fit I ſhould uſe their adviſe; which is the end for which I call'd them to a Parliament. But yet I cannot allow their wiſdom ſuch a compleatneſſe and inerrability as to exclude My ſelf; ſince none of them hath that part to Act, that Truſt to diſcharge, nor that Eſtate and Honour to preſerve as My ſelf; without whoſe Reaſon concurrent with theirs (as the Suns influence is neceſſary in Nallatures pro_uctions) they cannot beget, or bring forth any one compleat and authoritative Act of publick wiſdom, which makes the Laws. But the unreaſonableneſſe of ſome Propoſitions not is more evident to Me, than this is, That they are not the joynt and free deſires of thoſe in their Major number, who are of right to Sit and Vote in Parliament.

For, many of them ſavour very ſtrong of that old leaven of Innovations, masked vnder the name of Reformation; which, in my two laſt famous Predeceſſours daies, heaved at, and ſometime threatned both Prince and Parliaments: But, I am ſure was never wont ſo farre to infect the whole maſſe of the Nobility and

and Gentry of this Kingdome; however it di-perſed among the vulgar: Nor was it likely ſo ſuddenly to taynt the Major part of both Houſes, as that they ſhould unanimouſly deſire, and affect ſo enormous and dangerous innovations in Church & State, contrary to their former education, practice, and judgement.

Not that I am ignorant, how the choice of many Members was carried by much faction in the Countryes; ſome thirſting after nothing more, than a paſſionate revenge of what ever diſpleaſure they had conceived againſt me, my Court, or the Clergy.

But all reaſon bids me impute theſe ſudden and vaſt deſires of change to thoſe few, who armed themſelves with the many-headed, and many-handed Tumults.

No leſſe doth Reaſon, Honour; and Safety both of Church and State command me, to chew ſuch morſells, before I let them down; If the ſtraitnes of my coſcience will not give me leave to ſwallow down ſuch Camels, as others do of ſacriledg, & injuſtice both to God & man, they have no more cauſe to quarrell with me, than for this, that my throat is not ſo wide as theirs. Yet, by Gods help, I am reſolved, That nothing of paſſion, or peeviſhneſſe, or liſt to contradict, or vanity to ſhew my negative power, ſhal have any byas upon my judgement, to make me gratifie my will, by denying any thing, which my Reaſon and Conſcience commands me not.

Nor

Nor on the other ſide, will I conſent to more than Reaſon, Juſtice, Honour, and Religion perſwade me, to be for Gods glory, the Churches good, my Peoples welfare, and my own peace.

I will ſtudy to ſatisfie my Parliament, and my People; but I wil never, for feare, or flattery, gratifie any Faction, how potent ſoever; for this were to nouriſh the diſeaſe, & oppres the body.

Although many mens loyalty and prudence are terrified from giving me that free, and faithfull counſell, which they are able and willing to impart, and I may want; yet none can hinder me from craving the counſell of that mighty Counſellour, who can both ſuggeſt what is beſt, and incline my heart ſtedfaſtly to follow it.

O thou firſt and eternall Reaſon, whoſe wiſdome is fortified with omnipotency, furniſh thy Servant, firſt, with cleare diſcoveries of Truth, Reaſon, and Iuſtice, in My underſtanding; then ſo confirme My will and reſolution to adheere to them, that no terrours, Iniuries, or oppreſſions of my Enemies may ever inforce me againſt thoſe rules, which thou by them haſt planted in My Conſcience.

Thou never madeſt me a King, that I ſhould be leſſe then a Man; and not dare to ſay, Yea, or Nay, as I ſee cauſe; which freedom is not denied to the meaneſt creature, that hath the uſe of Reaſon, and liberty of ſpeech.

Shall that be blameable in Me, which is commendable veracity and conſtancy in others?

Thou ſeeſt, O Lord, with what partiality, and in-

iniuſtice, they deny that freedom to me their KING, *which Thou haſt given to all Men; & which Themſelves pertinaciouſly challenge to themſelves; while they are ſo tender of the leaſt breach of their priviledges.*

To thee I make my ſupplication, who canſt guide us by an unerring rule, through the perplexed labyrinths of our own thought, and other mens propoſalls; which, I have ſome cauſe to ſuſpect, are purpoſely caſt as ſnares, that by My granting or denying them, I might be more entangled in thoſe difficultyes, wherewith they lie in wayt to afflict Me.

O Lord, make thy way playn before Me.

Let not my own ſinfull paſſions cloud, or divert thy ſacred ſuggeſtions.

Let thy glory be my end, thy word my rule, and then thy will be done.

I cannot pleaſe all, I care not to pleaſe ſome men; If I may be happy to pleaſe thee, I need not fear whom I displeaſe.

Thou that makeſt the wiſdome of the world fooliſhneſſe, and takeſt in their own devices, ſuch as are wiſe in their own conceits, make Me wiſe by thy truth, for thy Honour, my Kingdomes generall good, and my own ſoules ſalvation; and I ſhall not much regard the worlds opinion, or diminution of me.

The leſſe wiſdome they are willing to impute to me, the more they ſhall be convinced of thy wiſedome directing me, while I deny nothing fit to be granted, out of croſſeneſs, or humour; nor grant

any

any thing which is to be denied, out of any feare, or flattery of men.

Suffer me not to be guilty, or unhappy, by willing or inconsiderate advancing any mens designes, which are injurious to the publique good, while I confirme them by my consent.

Nor let me be any occasion to hinder or defraud the publique of what is best, by any morose or perverse dissentings.

Make me so humbly charitable, as to follow their advise, when it appears to be for the publique good, of whose affections to me, I have yet but few evidences to assure Me.

Thou canst as well blesse honest errours, as blast fraudulent counsells.

Since we must give an account of every evill and idle word in private, at thy tribunall; Lord make me carefull of those solemne Declarations of my minde which are like to have the greatest influence upon the Publique, either for woe, or weale.

The lesse others consider what they aske, make me the more solicitous what I answer.

Though Mine owne, and My Peoples pressures are grievous, and peace would be very pleasing; yet, Lord, never suffer Me to avoid the one, or purchase the other, with the least expense or waste of My Conscience; whereof thou, O Lord, onely art deservedly more Master then My selfe.

12 *Vpon the Rebellion and troubles in* Ireland.

THe Commotions in *Ireland* were ſo ſudden, and ſo violent, that it was hard at firſt either to diſcerne the riſe, or apply a remedy to that precipitant rebellion.

Indeed, that Sea of bloud, which hath there bin cruelly & barbarouſly ſhed, is enough to drown any man in eternall both infamy and miſery, whom God ſhall find the malicious Author or Inſtigator of its effuſion.

It fell out, as a moſt unhappy advantage to ſome mens malice againſt me, that, when they had impudence enough to lay any thing to my charge, this bloudy opportunity ſhould be offered them, with which I muſt be aſperſed. Although there was nothing which could be more abhorred to me, being ſo full of ſin againſt God, diſloyalty to my ſelfe, and deſtructive to my Subjects.

Some men took it very ill not to be believed, when they affirmed, that what the *Iriſh* Rebells did, was done with my privitie (at leaſt) if not by my Commiſſion: But theſe knew too well, that it is no newes for ſome of my Subjects to fight, not only without my Commiſſion, but againſt my Command, and Perſon too; yet all the while to pretend, they fight by my Authority, and for my ſafety.

I would to God the Iriſh had nothing to alledge for their imitation againſt thoſe, whoſe blame muſt neede be the greater, by how much Proteſtant Principles are more againſt all Rebellion againſt Princes, then thoſe of Papiſts. Nor wil the goodnes of mens intentions excuſe the ſcandall, & contagion of their Examples.

But, who ever fail of their Duty toward me, I muſt bear the blame; this Honour my Enemies have always don me, to think moderate injuries not proportionate to me, nor competent trialls, either of my patience under them, or my pardon of them,

Therefore, with exquiſite malice, they have mixed the gall & vinegar of falſity & contempt, with the cup of My Affliction; Charging Me not only with untruths, but ſuch, as wherein I have the greateſt ſhare of loſſe & diſhonour by what is committed; whereby (in all Policy, Reaſon, and religion, having leaſt cauſe to give, the leaſt conſent, and moſt grounds of utter deteſtation) I might be repreſented by them to the world, the more inhumane & barbarous: Like ſome Cyclopick monſter, whom nothing will ſerve to eat and drink, but the fleſh and bloud of my owne Subjects; in whoſe common welfare my intereſt lies, as much as ſom mens doth in their perturbations; who think they cannot do well but in evill times, nor ſo cunningly as in laying the odium of thoſe ſad events on others, wherewith themſelves are moſt pleaſ'd, & whereof they have bin not the leaſt occaſion. And

And certainly, tis thought by many wiſe men, that the prepoſterous rigour, and unreaſonable ſeverity, which ſome men carried before them in *England*, was not the leaſt incentive, that kindled, and blew up into thoſe horrid flames, the ſparks of diſcontent, which wanted not pre-diſpoſed fewell for Rebellion in *Ireland*; where, deſpaire being added to their former diſcontents, and the feares of utter extirpation to their wonted oppreſſions, it was eaſie to provoke to an open Rebellion, a people prone enough, to break out to all exorbitant violence, both by ſome Principles of their Religion, and the naturall deſires of liberty; both to exempt themſelves from their preſent reſtraints, and to prevent thoſe after rigours wherewith they ſaw themſelves apparently threatned, by the covetous zeal and uncharitable fury of ſome men, who think it a great argument of the Truth of their Religion, to endure no other but their own.

God knowes, as I can with Truth waſh my hands in Innocency, as to any guilt in that rebellion; ſo I might waſh them in my Tears, as to the ſad apprehenſions I had, to ſee it ſpread ſo farre, and make ſuch waſte. And this in a time, when diſtractions, and jealouſies here in *England*, made moſt men rather intent to their owne ſafety, or deſignes they were driving, then to the reliefe of thoſe, who were every day inhumanely butchered in *IRELAND*: Whoſe teares and bloud might, if nothing elſe, have

quenched, or at leaſt, for a time, repreſſed and ſmothered thoſe ſparks of Civill diſſentions & Jealouſies, which in *England* ſome men moſt induſtriouſly ſcattered.

I would to God no man had been leſſe affected with *Irelands* ſad eſtate than my ſelf, I offered to go my ſelf in Perſon upon that expedition; But ſome men were either afraid I ſhould have any one Kingdome quieted; or loath they were to ſhoot at any mark here leſſe then my ſelfe; or that any ſhonld have the glory of my deſtruction but themſelves. Had my many offers bin accepted, I am confident neither the ruine had bin ſo great, nor the calamity ſo long, nor the remedy ſo deſperate.

So that, next to the ſin of thoſe, who began that Rebellion, theirs muſt needs be, who either hindred the ſpeedy ſuppreſſing of it, by domeſtick diſſentions, or diverted the Aides, or exaſperated the Rebells to the moſt deſperate reſolutions and actions, by threatning al extremities, not only to the known heads, & chief incendiaryes, but even to the whole community of that Nation; Reſolving to deſtroy Root and Branch, Men, Women, and Children; without any regard to thoſe uſuall pleas for mercy, which Couquerours, not wholly barbarous, are wont to heare from their owne breaſts, in behalfe of thoſe, whoſe oppreſſive fears, rather then their malice, engaged them; or whoſe imbecility for Sex and Age was ſuch, as they could neither

lift

lift up a hand againſt them, nor diſtinguiſh between their right hand & their left: Which prepoſterous, and (*I think*) un-evangelical Zeale is too like that of the rebuked Diſciples, who would go no lower in their revenge, then to call for fire from Heaven upon whole Cityes for the repulſe or neglect of a few; or like that of *Iacobs* ſons, which the Father both blamed and curſed: chuſing rather to uſe all extremityes, which might drive men to deſperate obſtinacy, then to apply moderate remedies; ſuch as might puniſh ſome with exemplary juſtice, yet diſarm others, with tenders of mercy upon their ſubmiſſion, & our protection of them, from the fury of thoſe, who would ſoon drown them, if they refuſed to ſwim down the popular ſtream with them; But ſome kind of Zeal counts all merciful moderation, luke-warmneſſe; and had rather be cruell then counted cold, & is not ſeldome more greedy to kill the Bear for his skin, then for any harm he hath done. The confiſcation of mens eſtates being more beneficiall, then the charity of ſaving their lives, or reforming their Errours.

When all proportionable ſuccours of the poor Proteſtants in *Ireland* (who were daily maſſacred, and over-borne with numbers of now deſperate Enemies) were diverted and obſtructed here; I was earneſtly entreated, and generally adviſed by the chief of the Proteſtant Party there, to get them ſome reſpite and breathing by a ceſſation, without which they

ſaw no probability(unleſſe by miracle) to preſerve the remnant that had yet eſcaped: God knows with how much commiſeration and ſolicitous caution I carried on that buſineſſe, by perſons of Honour and Integrity, that ſo I might neither incourage the rebells Inſolence, nor diſcourage the Proteſtants loyalty and patience.

Yet when this was effected in the beſt ſort, that the neceſſity and difficulty of affaires would then permit, I was then to ſuffer againe in my reputation and Honour, becauſe I ſuffered not the Rebels utterly to devoure the remaining handfulls of the Proteſtants there.

I thought, that, in all reaſon, the gaining of that reſpite could not be ſo much to the Rebels advantages(which ſome have highly calumniated againſt me) as it might have been for the Proteſtants future, as well as preſent ſafety; If during the time of that Ceſſation, ſome men had had the grace to have laid *Irelands* ſad condition more to heart; and laid aſide thoſe violent motions, which were here carried on by thoſe, that had better skill to let bloud then to ſtanch it.

But in all the miſconſtructions of my actions, (which are prone to find more credulity in men to what is falſe and evill, than love or charity to what is true and good) as I have no Judge but God above me, ſo I can have comfort to appeal to his omniſcience, who doth not therefore deny my Innocence, becauſe he is pleaſed ſo far to try my patience, as he did his ſervant *Iob's*

I have enough to doe to look to My own Conſcience, and the faithfull diſcharge of My Truſt as a KING; I have ſcarce leiſure to conſider thoſe ſwarmes of reproaches, which iſſue out of ſome mens mouths & hearts, as eaſily as ſmoke, or ſparks do out of a Fornace; Much leſſe to make ſuch prolix Apologies, as might give thoſe men ſatisfaction, who, conſcious to their owne depth of wickedneſſe, are loath to beleive any man not to be as bad as themſelves.

'Tis Kingly to do well, and heare ill: If I can but act the one, I ſhall not much regard to bear the other.

I thank God I can hear with patience, as bad as my worſt enemies can falſly ſay. And I hope I ſhall ſtill doe better than they deſire, or deſerve I ſhould.

I beleive it will at laſt appear, that they who firſt began to embroyle my other Kingdomes, are in great part guilty, if not of the firſt letting out, yet of the not-timely ſtopping thoſe horrid effuſion of bloud in *Ireland*.

Which (what ever my Enemies pleaſe to ſay, or think) I look upon, as that of my other Kingdomes, exhauſted out of my own veins; no man being ſo much weakned by it, as my ſelfe; And I hope, though mensunſatiable cruelties never wil, yet the mercy of God wil at length ſay to his juſtice, *It is enough:* & command the ſword of civil wars to ſheath it ſelf: his merciſull juſtice intending I truſt not our utter confuſion; but our cure;

the abatement of our ſins, or the deſolating of theſe Nations.

O my God, let thoſe infinite mercies prevent us once againe, which I and my Kingdomes have formerly abuſed, and can never deſerve ſhould be reſtored.

Thou ſeeſt how much cruelty among Chriſtians is acted under the colour of Religion, as if we could not be Chriſtians, unleſſe we cruciſie one anothor. Becauſe we have not more loved thy Truth, and practiſed in Charity, thou haſt ſuffered a Spirit of Errour and bitterneſſe, of mutuall and mortall hatred to riſe among us.

O Lord, forgive wherein we have ſinned, and ſanctifie what we have ſuffered.

Let our repentance be our recovery, as our great ſins have been our ruine.

Let not the miſeries I and my Kingdoms have hitherto ſuffered ſeem ſmall to thee: but make our ſins appear to our conſciences, as they are repreſented in the glaſſe of thy judgements; for thou never puniſheſt ſmall failings with ſo ſevere afflictions.

O therefore, according to the multitude of thy great mercies, pardon our ſinnes, and remove thy iudgements which are very many, and very heavy.

Yet let our ſinnes be evermore grievous to us, than thy Iudgements; and make us more willing to repent, then to be relieved; firſt give us the peace of penitent conſciences, and then the tranquillity of united Kingdomes.

In the Sea of our Saviours blood drowne our ſins

ſinnes, and through this red Sea of our own bloud bring us at laſt to a ſtate of piety, peace, and plenty.

As my publique relations to all, make me ſhare in all my Subiects ſufferings; ſo give me ſuch a pious ſenſe of them, as becomes a Chriſtian King, and a loving Father of my people.

Let the ſcandalous and uniuſt reproaches caſt upon me, be as a breath, more to kindle my compaſſion: Give me grace to heap charitable coales of fire upon their heads to melt them, whoſe malice or cruell Zeal hath kindled, or hindred the quenching of thoſe flames, which have ſo much waſted my three Kingdoms.

O reſcue and aſſiſt thoſe poore Proteſtants in Ireland, whom thou haſt hitherto preſerved.

And lead thoſe in the wayes of thy ſaving Truths, whoſe ignorance or errours have filled them with Rebellious and deſtructive principles; which they act under an opinion, That they do thee good ſervice.

Let the hand of thy Iuſtice be againſt thoſe, who maliciouſly and diſpitefully have raiſed, or fomented thoſe cruell and deſperate Wars.

Thou that art far from deſtroying the Innocent with the Guilty, and the Erroneous with the Malicious; Thou that hadſt pity on Niniveh for the many Children that were therein, give not over the whole ſtock of that populous and ſeduced Nation, to the wrath of thoſe, whoſe covetouſneſſe makes them cruell; nor to their anger, which is too fierce, and therefore iuſtly curſed.

Preſerve, if it be thy will, in the midſt of the

fornace of thy ſevere iuſtice a Poſterity, which may praiſe thee for thy mercy.

And deale with Me, not according to mans uniuſt reproaches, but according to the innocency of my hands in thy ſight.

If I have deſired, or delighted in the wofull day of my Kingdoms calamities; if I have not earneſtly ſtudied, and faithfully endeavoured the preventing and compoſing of theſe bloody diſtractions; then let thy hand be againſt me, and my Fathers houſe.

O Lord, thou ſeeſt I have enemies enough of men as I need not, ſo I ſhould not dare thus to imprecate thy curſe on me and mine, if my Conſcience did not witneſſe my integrity, which thou, O Lord, knoweſt right well; But I truſt not to My own merit, but thy mercies; ſpare us O Lord, and be not angry with us for ever.

---

13 *Upon the Calling in of the* Scots, *and their Comming.*

THe *Scots* are a Nation, upon whom I have not onely common ties of Nature, Soveraignty, and Bounty, with My Father of bleſſed memory; but alſo ſpecial and late obligations of favours, having gratified the active Spirits, among them ſo far, that I ſeemed to many, to prefer the deſires of that party, before my own intereſt and Honour. But, I ſee,

Royall

Royall bounty emboldens ſome men to aske, & act beyond all bounds of modeſty and gratitude.

My charity, and Act of Pacification, forbids me to reflect on former paſſages; wherein I ſhall ever be farre from letting any mans ingratitude, or inconſtancy, make Me repent of what I granted them, for the publique good. I pray God it may ſo prove.

The comming againe of that Party into *England*, with an Army, onely to conforme this Church to their late New modell, cannot but ſeem as unreaſonable, as they would have thought the ſame meaſure offered from hence to themſelves.

Other errand I could never underſtand they had, (beſides thoſe common and vulgar flouriſhes for Religion and Liberty) ſave onely to confirme the Presbyterian Copy they had ſet, by making this Church to write after them, though it were in bloudy Characters.

Which deſigne and end, whether it will juſtifie the uſe of ſuch violent means, before the divine Juſtice, I leave to their Conſciences to judge, who have already felt the miſery of the means, but not reaped the benefit of the end, either in this Kingdome, or that.

Such knots and croſneſſe of grain being objected here, as will hardly ſuffer that forme, which they cry up as the only juſt reformation, and ſetling of Government and Diſcipline in Churches, to goe on ſo ſmoothly here, as it might doe in *Scotland*; and was by them

them imagined would have done in ENGLAND, when ſo many of the Engliſh Clergy, through levity or diſcontent, if no worſe paſſion, ſuddenly quitted their former engagements to Epiſcopacy, and faced about to their Presbytery.

It cannot but ſeem either paſſion, or ſome ſelf-ſeeking, more then true Zeal, and pious Diſcretion, for any forraign State or Church to preſcribe ſuch medicines only for others, which themſelves have uſed, rather ſucceſſefully than commendably; not conſidering that the ſame Phyſick on different conſtitutions, will have different operations; That may kill one, which doth but cure another.

Nor doe I know any ſuch tough and malignant humours in the conſtitution of the *Engliſh* Church, which gentler applications then thoſe of an Army, might not eaſily have removed: Nor is it ſo proper to hew out religious Reformations by the Sword, as to poliſh them by fair and equal diſputations among thoſe that are moſt concerned in the diferences; whom not force, but Reaſon ought to convince.

But their deſigne now ſeemed rather to cut of all diſputation here, than to procure a fair and equall one: For, it was concluded, there, that the Engliſh Clergy muſt conform to the Scots pattern, before ever rhey could be heard, what they could ſay for themſelves, or againſt the others way.

I could have wiſhed fairer proceedings both for

for their credits, who urge things with ſuch violence; and for other mens Conſciences too, who can receive little ſatisfaction in theſe points which are maintained rather by Souldiers fighting in the Field, than Schollars diſputing in free and learned Synods.

Sure, in matters, of Religion thoſe truths gain moſt on mens Judgements and Conſciences, which are leaſt urged with ſecular violence, which weakens Truth with prejudices; and is unreaſonable to be uſed, till ſuch means of rationall conviction hath beene applied, as, leaving no excuſe for ignorance, condemns mens obſtinacy to deſerved penalties.

Which no charity will eaſily ſuſpect of ſo many learned and pious Church-men in *England*; who being alwayes bred up, and conformable to the Government of Epiſcopacy, cannot ſo ſoon renounce both their former opinion and practiſe, only becauſe that Party of the Scots wil needs, by force, aſsiſt a like Party here, either to drive all Miniſters, as ſheep into the common fold of Presbytery, or deſtroy them; at leaſt fleece them, by depriving them of the benefit of their Flocks. If the Scotch ſole Presbytery were proved to be the only inſtitution of Jeſus Chriſt, for all Churches Government, yet I beleive it would be hard to prove that Chriſt had given thoſe Scots, or any other of my Subjects, Commiſsion, by the ſword to ſet up in any of My Kingdomes without My Conſent.

What

What reſpect and obedience Chriſt and his Apoſtls pai'd to the chief Governours of States, where they lived is very clear in the Goſpell; but that he, or they ever commanded to ſet up ſuch a parity of Presbyters, and in ſuch a way as thoſe *Scots* endeavour, I think is not very diſputable.

If Presbytery in ſuch a ſupremacy be an inſtitution of Chriſt, ſure it differs from all others; and is the firſt and only point of Chriſtianity, that was to be planted and watred with ſo much Chriſtian bloud; whoſe effuſions run in a ſtream ſo contrary to that of the primitive Planters, both of Chriſtianity & Epiſcopacy, which was with patient ſhedding of their own bloud, not violent drawing other mens; ſure there is too much of Man in it, to have much of Chriſt, none of whoſe inſtitutions were carried on, or begun with the Temptations of Covetouſneſſe or Ambition; of both which this is vehemently ſuſpected. Yet was there never any thing upon the point, which thoſe *Scots* had by Army or Commiſſioners to move me with, by their many Solemne obteſtations, and pious threatnings, but only this; to repreſent to me the wonderfull neceſſity of ſetting up their Presbytery in *England*, to avoid the further miſeries of a Warre; which ſome men chiefly on this deſigne at firſt had begun, and now further ingaged themſelves to continue.

What hinders that any Sects, Schiſmes, or Hereſies, if they can get but numbers, ſtrength and

and opportunity, may not, according to this opinion and pattern, ſet up their wayes by the like methods of violence? all which Presbytery ſeeks to ſuppreſs, & render odious under thoſe names; when wiſe and learned men think, that nothing hath more marks of Schiſme, and Sectariſme, then this Presbyterian way, both as to the Ancient, and ſtill moſt Univerſall way of the Church-government, and ſpecially as to the particular Laws and Conſtitutions of this Engliſh Church, which are not yet repealed, nor are like to be for me, till I ſee more Rationall and Religious motives, then ſouldiers uſe to carry in their Knapſacks.

But we muſt leave the ſucceſſe of all to God, who hath many waies (having firſt taken us off from the folly of our opinions, and fury of our paſſion) to teach us thoſe rules of true Reaſon, & peaceable wiſdom, which is from above, tending moſt to Gods glory, & his Churches good; which I think my ſelf ſo much the more bound in Conſcience to attend, with the moſt judicious Zeal and care, by how much I eſteem the church above the State, the glory of Chriſt above mine Own; & the ſalvations of mens ſouls above the preſevation of their Bodies and Eſtates.

Nor may any men, I think, without ſinne and preſumption, forcibly endeavour to caſt the Churches under my care and tuition, into the moulds they have fancied, and faſhioned to their deſignes, till they have firſt gained my

my conſent, and reſolved both my own and other mens Conſciences by the ſtrength of their reaſons.

Other violent motions, which are neither Manly, Chriſtian, nor Loyall, ſhall never either ſhake or ſettle my religion; nor any mans elſe, who knowes what Religion means; and how farre it is removed from all Faction, whoſe proper engine is force; the arbitrator of beaſts, not of reaſonable men, much leſſe of humble Chriſtians, and loyall Subjects, in matters of religion.

But men are prone to have ſuch high conceits of themſelves, that they care not what coſt they lay out upon their opinions; eſpecially thoſe, that have ſome temptation of gaine; to recompence their loſſes and hazards.

Yet I was not more ſcandalized at the *Scots* Armies comming in againſt my will; and their forfeiture of ſo many obligations of duty, and gratitude to me; then I wondred, how thoſe here could ſo much diſtruſt Gods aſſiſtance; who ſo much pretended Gods cauſe to the People, as if they had the certainty of ſome divine Revelation; conſidering they were more then competently furniſhed with my Subjects Armes and Ammunition; My Navy by Sea, my Forts, Caſtls, and Cities by Land.

But I find, that men jealous of tue Juſtifiableneſſe of their doings. and deſignes before God. never think they have hnmane ſtrength enough

enough to carry their work on, ſeem it never ſo plauſible to the People; what cannot be juſtified in Law or Religion, had need be fortified with Power.

And yet ſuch is the inconſtancy that attends all minds engaged in violent motion, that whom ſome of them one while earneſtly invite to come into their aſſiſtance, others of them ſoone after are weary of, and with nauſeating caſt them out: what one Party thought to rivet to a ſetledneſſe by the ſtrength and influence of the *Scots*, that the other rejects and contemnes at once, deſpiſing the Kirk Government, and diſcipline of the *Scots*, and fruſtrating the ſucceſſe of ſo chargable, more then charitable aſſiſtance: For, ſure the Church of *England* might have purchaſed, at a farre cheaper rate, the truth and happineſſe of Reformed government and diſcipline (if it had been wanting) though it had entertained the beſt Divines of Chriſtendome for their advice in a full and free Synod; which I was ever willing to, and deſirous of, that matters being impartially ſetled, might be more ſatisfactory to all, and more durable.

But much of Gods juſtice, and mans folly will at length be diſcovered, through all the filmes and pretenſions of Religion, in which Politicians wrap up their deſignes; In vaine do men hope to build their piety on the ruines of Loyalty. Nor can thoſe confederations or deſignes be durable, when Subjects make bankrupt of

their Allegiance, under pretence of ſetting up a quicker trade for Religion.

But, as my beſt Subjects of *Scotland* never deſerted Me, ſo I cannot think that the moſt are gone ſo far from Me, in a prodigality of their love and reſpects toward Me, as to make Me to deſpair of their return; when, beſides the bonds of nature and Conſcience, which they have to Me, all Reaſon and true policy will teach them; that their chiefeſt intereſt conſiſts in their fidelity to the Crown, not in their ſerviceableneſſe to any party of the People, to a neglect and betraying of My Safety and Honour for their advantages: However, the leſſe cauſe I have to truſt to men, the more I ſhall apply my ſelf to God.

The Troubles of My Soul are enlarged, O Lord, bring thou Me out of My diſtreſſe.

Lord direct thy Servant in the wayes of that pious ſimplicity, which is the beſt policy.

Deliver Me from the combined ſtrength of thoſe, who have ſo much of the Serpents ſubtilty, that they forget the Doves Innocency.

Though hand ioyne in hand, yet let them not prevaile againſt My ſoule, to the betraying of My Conſcience and Honour.

Thou, O Lord, canſt turne the hearts of theſe Parties in both Nations, as thou didſt the men of Judah and Iſrael, to reſtore David with as much loyall Zeal, as they did with inconſtancy and eagerneſſe purſue him.

Preſerve the love of thy Truth, and uprightnes in

Me

me, and I ſhall not deſpair of My Subjects affections returning towards me.

Thou canſt ſoone cauſe the overflowing Seas to ebb, and retire back again to the bounds which thou haſt appointed for them.

O my God, I truſt in thee; let me not be aſhamed; let not my Enemies triumph over me.

Let them be aſhamed who tranſgreſs without a cauſe; let them be turned back that perſecute my Soule.

Let integrity and uprightneſſe preſerve me, for I wait on thee, O Lord.

Redeem thy Church, O God, out of all its Troubles.

---

14. *Upon the Covenant.*

THe *Presbyterian Scots* are not to be hired at the ordinary rate of Auxiliarie; nothing will induce them to engage, till thoſe that call them in, have pawned their Soules to them, by a Solemne League and Covenant.

Where many engines of religious and faire pretenſions are brought chiefly to batter, or raſe Epiſcopacy. This they make the grand evill Spirit, which, with ſome other Imps purpoſely added, to make it more odious, and terrible to the Vulgar, muſt by ſo ſolemne a charme and exorciſme be caſt out of this Church, after more than a thouſand yeares poſſeſſion here, from the firſt plantation of Chriſtianity in this Iſland; and an univerſall

preſcription of time & practiſe in all other Churches ſince the Apoſtles times till this laſt Century

But no Antiquity muſt plead for it. Presbytery; like a young Heyr, thinks the Father hath lived long enough; and impatient not to be in the Biſhops Chair & Authority (though Lay-men go away with the Revenues) all art is uſed to ſink Epiſcopacy, and lanch Presbytery in *England*; which was lately boyed up in *Scotland* by the like artifice of a Covenant

Although I am unſatisfyed with many paſſages in that covenant (ſome referring to My ſelf with very dubious & dangerous limitations yet I chiefly wonder at the deſigne & drift touching the Diſcipline and Government of the Church; and ſuch a manner of carying them on to new ways, by Oaths and Covenants, where it is hard for men to be engaged by no leſs, then ſwearing for, or againſt thoſe things, which are of no cleare morall neceſſity, but very diſputable, & controverted among learned & godly men: whereto the application of Oaths can hardly be made and enjoyned with that judgement, and certainty in ones ſelf, or that charity and candour to others of different opinion, as I think Religion requires, which never refuſes faire and equable deliberations; yea, & diſſentings too, in matters only probable. The enjoyning of oaths upon people muſt needs in things doubtfull be dangerous, as in things unlawfull, damnable; and no leſſe ſuperfluous, where former religious and legall

Engagements

Engagements bound men ſufficiently, to all neceſſary duties. Nor can I ſee how they will reconcile ſuch an Innovating Oath and Covenant, with that former proteſtation which was ſo lately taked, to maintain the Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*: ſince they count Diſcipline ſo great a part of Religion.

But ambitious minds never thinke they have laid ſnares and ginnes enough to catch and hold the Vulgar credulity: for by ſuch politique and ſeemingly-pious ſtratagems, they think to keep the populacy faſt to their Parties under the terrour of perjury. Whereas certainly all honeſt and wiſe men ever thought themſelvs ſufficiently bound, by former ties of Religion, Allegiance, and Laws, to God and Man.

Nor can ſuch after-Contracts, deviſed and impoſed by a few Men in a declared Party, without My Conſent, and without any like power or precedent from Gods or mans lawes, be ever thought by judicious men ſufficient either to abſolve or ſlacken thoſe morall & eternall bounds of duty which lie upon all My Subjects conſciences both to God and Me. Yet, as things now ſtand, good men ſhal leſt offend God or Me, by keeping their Covenant in honeſt & lawfull ways; ſince I have the charity to think, that the chief end of the Covenat, in ſuch mens intentions, was, to preſerve Religion in purity, and the kingdoms in peace: To other then ſuch ends and

meanes they cannot think themſelves engaged; nor will thoſe, that have any true touches of Conſcience, endeavour to carry on the beſt deſignes (much leſſe ſuch as are, and will be daily more apparently factious & ambitious) by any unlawfull meanes, under that title of the Covenant: unleſſe they dare preferre ambiguous, dangerous, and un-authorized novelties, before their known and ſworn duties, which are indiſpenſable, both to God and My ſelf.

I am prone to believe and hope, That many, who took the Covenant, are yet firm to this judgment, That ſuch later Vows, Oaths, or Leagues, can never blot out thoſe former gravings, and characters which by juſt & lawfull Oaths were made upon their Soul, That which makes ſuch Confederations by way of ſolemn leagues & covenants more to be ſuſpected, is, that they are the common road uſed in all factions and powerfull perturbations, of State or Church: where formalities of extraordinary zeal and piety are never more ſtudied and elaborate, then, when Politicians moſt agitate deſperate deſignes againſt all that is ſetled, or ſacred in Religion, and Laws, which by ſuch ſcrues are cunningly, yet forcibly, wreſted by ſecret ſteps, and leſſe ſenſible degrees, from their known rule & wonted practiſe, to comply with the humours of thoſe men, who aym to ſubdue all to their own will and power, under the diſguiſes of Holy Combinations.

Which cords and wythes will hold mens Conſciences

Conſciences no longer, then force attends and twiſts them: for every man ſoone growes his owne Pope, and eaſily abſolves himſelfe of thoſe ties, which, not the commands of Gods word, or the Lawes of the Land, but only the ſubtilty and terrour of a Party caſts upon him; either ſuperfluous and vaine, when they were ſufficiently tied before; or fraudulent and injurious, if by ſuch after-ligaments they find the Impoſers really ayming to diſſolve, or ſuſpend their former, juſt, and neceſſary obligations.

Indeed, ſuch illegall waies ſeldome, or never, intend the engaging men more to duties, but only to Parties; therefore it is not regarded how they keep their Covenants in point of piety pretended, provided they adhere firmly to the Party and Deſigne intended.

I ſee the Impoſers of it are content to make their Covenant like Manna (not that it came from heaven, as this did) agreeable to every mans palate and reliſh, who will but ſwallow it. They admit any mens ſenſes of it, though diverſe or contrary; with any ſalvoes, cautions, and reſervations, ſo as they croſſe not their chief Deſigne which is laid againſt the Church, and Me. It is enough if they get but the reputation of a ſeeming encreaſe to their Party; So little do men remember that God is not mocked.

In ſuch latitudes of ſenſe, I believe many that love Me, and the Church well, may have taken the Covenant, who yet are not ſo fondly

and ſuperſtitiouſly taken by it, as now to act clearly againſt both all piety and loyalty; who firſt yeilded to it, more to prevent that imminent violence and ruine, which hung over their heads, in caſe they wholly refuſed it, than for any value of it, or devotion to it.

Wherein, the latitude of ſome generall Clauſes may (perhaps) ſerve ſomewhat to relieve them, as of *Doing and endeavouring what lawfully they may, in their Places and Callings*, and *according to the Word of God*: for, theſe (indeed) carry no man beyond thoſe bounds of good Conſcience, which are certaine and fixed, either in Gods Lawes, as to the generall; or the Lawes of the State and Kingdome, as to the particular regulation and exerciſe of mens duties.

I would to God, ſuch, as glory moſt in the name of *Covenanters*, would keepe themſelves within thoſe lawfull bounds, to which God hath called them: Surely it were the beſt way to expiate the raſhneſſe of taking it: which muſt needs then appeare, when beſides the want of a full and lawfull Authority at firſt to enjoyne it, it ſhall actually be carried on beyond and againſt thoſe ends which were in it ſpecified and pretended. I willingly forgive ſuch mens taking the Covenant, who keep it within ſuch bounds of Piety, Law, and Loyalty, as can never hurt either the Church, My ſelfe, or the Publique Peace: Againſt which; no mans lawfull Calling can engage him.

As

As for that Reformation of the Church, which the Covenant pretends, I cannot think it juſt or comely, that by the partiall advice of a few Divines, (of ſo ſoft and ſervile tempers, as diſpoſed them to ſo ſudden acting and compliance, contrary to their former judgements, profeſſion and practiſe) ſuch foule ſcandalls and ſuſpitions ſhould be caſt upon the Doctrine and Government of the Church of *England*, as was never done (that I have heard) by any that deſerved the name of *Reformed Churches* abroad, nor by any men of learning and candour, at home: all whoſe judgments I cannot but perfer before any mens now factiouſly engaged.

No man can be more forward than My ſelfe to carry on all due Reformations, with mature judgement, and a good Conſcience, in what things I ſhall (after impartiall adviſe) be, by Gods Word, and right reaſon, convinced to be amiſſe, I have offered more than ever the fulleſt, freeſt, and wiſeſt Parliaments did deſire.

But the ſequele of ſome mens actions makes it evident, that the main Reformation intended, is the abaſing of Epiſcopacy into Presbytery, and the robbing the Church of its Lands and Revenues: For, no men have beene more injuriouſly uſed, as to their legall Rights than the Biſhops and Church-men. Theſe, as the fatteſt Deer, muſt be deſtroyed; the other Raſcal-herd of Schiſmes, Hereſies, &c. being lean,

lean, may enjoy the benefit of a Toleration: Thus *Naboth's* Vineyard made him the onely Blaſphemer of this City, and fit to die. Still I ſee, while the breath of Religion fills the Sailes, Profit is the Compaſſe, by which Factious men ſteer their courſe in all ſeditious Commotions.

I thank God, as no man lay more open to the ſacrilegious temptation of uſurping the Churches Lands, and Revenues, (which iſſuing chiefly from the Crowne, are held of it, and legally can revert onely to the Crowne, with My Conſent) ſo I have alwayes had ſuch a perfect abhorrence of it in My Soule, that I never found the leaſt inclination to ſuch ſacrilegious Reformings: yet no man hath a greater deſire to have Biſhops and all Church-men ſo reformed, that they may beſt deſerve and uſe, not only what the pious munificence of My Predeceſſours hath given to God and the Church, but all other additions of chriſtian bounty.

But no neceſſity ſhall ever, I hope, drive Me or Mine to invade or ſell the Prieſts Lands, which both *Pharaoh's* divinity, and *Ioſeph's* true piety abhorred to doe: So unjuſt I think it both in the eye of Reaſon and Religion, to deprive the moſt ſacred imployment of all due encouragements; and like that other hard-hearted *Pharaoh*, to withdraw the ſtraw, and encreaſe the Taske; ſo purſuing the oppreſſed Church, as ſome have done, to the read ſea of

a

a Civil Warre, where nothing but a miracle can ſave either It, or Him, who eſteems it His greateſt Title to be called, and His chiefeſt glory to be *The Defender of the Church, both in its true faith & its iuſt fruitions, equally abhorring Sacrilege and Apoſtacy*,

I had rather live as My Predeceſſour HENRY 3 ſometime did; on the Churches Alms, then violently to take the bread out of Biſhops and Miniſters mouthes.

The next work will be *Ieroboam's* reformation, conſecrating the meaneſt of the People to be Preiſts in *Iſrael*, to ſerve thoſe Golden Calves, who have enriched themſelves with the Churches Patrimony and Dowry; which how it thrived both with Prince, Prieſts, and People, is well enough knowne: And ſo it will be here, when from the tuition of Kings and Queenes, which have been nurſing Fathers and Mothers of this Church, it ſhal be at their alowance, who have already diſcovered, what hard Fathers, and Stepmothers they will be.

If the poverty of *Scotland* might, yet the plenty of *England*, cannot excuſe the envy and rapine of the Churches Rights and Revenues.

I cannot ſo much as pray God to prevent thoſe ſad conſequences, which will inevitably follow the parity and poverty of Miniſters, both in Church and State; ſince I thinke it no leſſe than a mocking and tempting of God, to deſire him to hinder thoſe miſchiefs, whoſe occaſions

caſions and remedies are in our own power; it being every mans ſin not to avoid the one, and not to uſe the other.

There are wayes enongh to repair the breaches of the State without the ruins of the Church; as I would be a Reſtorer of the one, ſo I would not be an oppreſſour of the other, under the pretence of Publique Debts. The occaſions contracting them were bad enough, but ſuch a diſcharging of them would be much worſe; I pray God neither I, nor Mine, may be acceſſary to either.

To thee, O Lord, doe I addreſſe My prayer, beſeeching thee to pardon the raſhneſſe of My Subiects Swearings, and to quicken their ſenſe and obſervation of thoſe juſt, morall, and indiſpenſable bonds, which thy Word, and the Lawes of this Kingdome have laid upon their Conſciences; From which no pretenſions of Piety and Reformation are ſufficient to abſolve them, or to engage them to any contrary practiſes.

Make them at length ſeriouſly to conſider, that nothing violent and iniurious can be religious.

Thou alloweſt no mans committing Sacriledge under the Zeal of abhorring Idolls.

Suffer not ſacrilegious deſigns to have the Countenance of religious ties.

Thou haſt taught us by the wiſeſt of Kings, that it is a ſnare to take things that are holy, and after Vows to make enquiry.

Ever keep thy ſervant from conſenting to periurious and ſacrilegious rapines, that I may not have

have the brand and curſe to all poſterity of robbing Thee and thy Church, of what thy bounty hath given us, and thy clemency hath accepted from us, wherewith to encourage Learning and Religion.

Though My Treaſures are Exhauſted, My Revenues Diminiſhed; and My Debts Encreaſed, yet never ſuffer Me to be tempted to uſe ſuch prophane Reparations; leſt a coal from thine altar ſet ſuch a fire on My Throne and Conſcience as will be hardly quenched.

Let not the Debs and Engagements of the Publique, which ſome mens folly and prodigality hath contracted, be an occaſion to impoveriſh thy Church.

The State may ſoone recover, by thy bleſſing of peace upon us; The Church is never likely in times, where the Charity of moſt men is grown ſo cold, & their Religion ſo illeberall.

Continne to thoſe that ſerve Thee and thy Church all thoſe incouragements, which by the will of the pious Donours, and the Iuſtice of the Laws are due unto them; and give them grace to deſerve and uſe them aright to thy glory, and the releif of the poor; That thy Preiſts may be cloathed with righteouſneſſe, and the poor may be ſatisfyed with bread.

Let not holy things be given to Swine; nor the Churches bread to Dogs; rather let them go about the City, grin like a Dog, and grudg that they are not ſatisfyed,

Let thoſe ſacred morſells, which ſome men have already by violence devoured, never digeſt with them, nor theirs; Let them be as Naboth's

Vineyard

Vineyard to Ahab, *gall in their mouths, rottenneſſe to their names, a moth to their Families, and a ſting to their Conſciences.*

Break in ſunder, O Lord, all violent and ſacrilegious Confederations, to doe wickedly and iniuriouſly.

Divide their hearts and tongues who have bandyed together againſt the Church and State, that the folly of ſuch may be manifeſt to all men, and proceed no further.

But ſo favour My righteous dealing, O Lord; that in the mercies of thee, the moſt High, I may never miſcarry.

---

15. *Upon the many Jealouſies raiſed, and Scandals caſt upon the* King, *to ſtir up the People againſt Him.*

IF I had not My own Innocency, and Gods protection, it were hard for Me to ſtand out againſt thoſe ſtratagems and conflicts of malice, which by Falſities ſeek to oppreſſe the Truth; and by Jealouſies to ſupply the defect of Reall cauſes, which might ſeeme to juſtifie ſo unjuſt Engagements againſt Me.

And indeed, the worſt effects of open Hoſtility come ſhort of theſe Deſignes: For, I can more willingly loſe My Crownes, than My Credit;

Credit; nor are My Kingdoms, ſo dear to Me, as My Reputation and Honour.

Thoſe muſt have a period with My life; but theſe may ſurvive to a glorious kind of Immortality, when I am dead and gon: A good name being the embalming of Princes, & a ſweet conſecrating of them to an Eternity of love & gratitude among Poſterity.

Thoſe foule and falſe aſperſions were ſecret engines at firſt employed againſt My peoples love of Me: that undermining their opinion & value of Me, My enemies; and theirs too might at once blow up their affections, and batter down their loyalty.

Wherein yet, I thank God, the detriment of My Honour is not ſo afflictive to Me, as the ſin and danger of My peoples ſouls, whoſe eye once blinded with ſuch miſts of ſuſpicions, they are ſoon miſ-led into the moſt deſperate precipices of actions: wherein they do not only, not conſider their ſin and danger, but glory in their zealous adventures; while I am rendred to them ſo fit to be deſtroyed, that many are ambitious to merit the name of My Deſtroyers; imagining they then fear God moſt, when they leaſt honor their King.

I thank God, I never found but My pity was above My anger; nor have My paſſions ever ſo prevailed againſt Me, as to exclude My moſt compaſsionate prayres for them, whom devout errours more than their own malice have betrayed to a moſt religious Rebellion.

I had the Charity to interpret, that moſt part of My Subjects fought againſt My ſuppoſed errours, not My Perſon; and intended to mend Me, not to end Me: And I hope that God, pardoning their Errours, hath ſo farre accepted and anſwered their good intentions, that as he hath yet preſerved Me, ſo he hath by theſe afflictions prepared Me, both to doe him better ſervice, and My people more good, than hitherto I have don.

I doe not more willingly forgive their ſeductions, which occaſioned their loyall injuries, then I am ambitious by all Princely merits to redeem them from their unjuſt ſuſpicions, and reward them for their good intentions.

I am too conſcious to My own Affections toward the generality of My people, to ſuſpect theirs to Me; nor ſhall the malice of My Enemies ever be able to deprive Me of the comfort, which that confidence gives Me; I ſhall never gratifie the ſpightfulneſſe of a few with any ſiniſter thoughts of all their Allegiance, whom pious frauds have ſeduced.

The worſt ſome mens ambition can do, ſhall never perſwade Me, to make ſo bad interpretations of moſt of My Subjects actions; who poſſibly may be Erroneous, but not Heretical in point of Loyaltie.

The ſenſe of the Injuries done unto My Subjects is as ſharp, as thoſe done to My ſelfe; our welfares being inſeparable; in this onely they ſuffer more then My ſelfe, that they are anima-

ted

ted by ſome ſeducers to injure at once both themſelves and Me.

For this is not enough the malice of My enemyes, that I be afflicted: but it muſt be don by ſuch inſtruments, that My afflictions grieve Me not more, then this doth, that I am afflicted by thoſe, whoſe proſperity I earneſtly deſire, & whoſe ſeduction I heartily deplore.

If they had been My open and forreign Enemies, I could have born it; but they muſt be My own Subjects, who are, next to My Children; dear to Me: And for the reſtoring of whoſe tranquility, I could willingly be the *Ionah*; If I did not evidently fore-ſee, that by the divided Intereſts of their & Mine enemies, as by contrary winds, the ſtorm of their miſeries would be rather encreaſed then allayed.

I had rather prevent my peoples ruine then rule over them; nor am I ſo ambitious of that Dominion, which is but My Right, as of their happineſſe; if it could expiate or countervaile ſuch a way of obtaining it, by the higheſt injuries of Subjects committed againſt their Soveraign.

Yet I had rather ſuffer all the miſeries of life, and dy many deaths, then ſhamefully to deſert, or diſhonourably to betray My own juſt rights and Soveraignty; thereby to gratify the ambition, or juſtifie the malice of My Enemies; between whoſe malice; and other men miſtakes, I put as great a difference, as betweene an ordinary AGUE and the PLAGUE; or the

Itch of Novelty, and the Leproſie of Diſloyalty.

As Lyars need have good Memories, ſo Malicious Perſons need good inventions; That their calumnies may fit every mans fancy; and what their reproaches want of truth, they may make up with number and ſhew.

My patience (I thank God) will better ſerve Me to bear, and My charity to forgive, then My leiſure to Anſwer the many falſe Aſperſions which ſome men have caſt upon Me.

Did I not more conſider My Subjects Satisfaction, then my own Vindication: I ſhould never have given the malice of ſome men that pleaſure, as to ſee Me take notice of, or remember what they ſay, or object.

I would leave the Authors to be puniſhed by their own evil manners and ſeared Conſciences, which will, I beleive, in a ſhorter time then they be aware of, both confute and revenge all thoſe black and falſe ſcandals, which they have caſt on Me; And make the world ſee, there is as little truth in them, as there was little worth in the broaching of them; or Civility (I need not ſay Loyalty) in the not-ſuppreſſing of them; whoſe credit & reputation, even with the People, ſhall ere long be quite blaſted by the breath of that ſame fornace of popular obloquy and detraction, which they have ſtudied to heat and inflame to the higheſt degree of infamy, & wherein they have ſought to caſt and conſume My Name and Honour.

First

First, nothing gave Me more cause to suspect and search My owne Innocency, then when I observed so many forward to engage against Me, who had made great professions of singular piety; For this gave to vulgar minds so bad a reflection upon Me, and My Cause, as if it had been impossible to adhere to Me, and not withall part from God; to think or speak well of Me, and not to Blaspheme Him; so many were perswaded that these two were utterly inconsistent, to be at once Loyall to Me, and truly Religious toward God.

Not but that I had (I thank God) many with Me, which were both Learned and Religious (much above that ordinary size, and that vulgar proportion, wherein some men glory so much) who were so well satisfied in the cause of My sufferings, that they chose rather to suffer with Me, then forsake Me.

Nor is it strange that so religious Pretensions, as were used against me, should be to many well-minded Men a great temptation to oppose Me; Especially, being urged by such popular Preachers, as think it no sin to lie for God, and what they please to call Gods Cause, cursing all that will not curse with them; looking so much at, and crying up the goodnesse of the end propounded, that they consider not the lawfullnesse of the means used, nor the depth of the mischief, chiefly plotted and intended. The weaknesse of these mens judgements must be made up by their clamours and activity.

It was a great part of ſome mens Religion to ſcandalize Me & Mine; they thought theirs could not be true, if they cried not down Mine as falſe.

I thank God, I have had more triall of his grace, as to the conſtancy of My Religion in the Proteſtant Profeſſion of the Church of *England*, both abroad, and at home, than ever they are like to have. Nor do I know any exception, I am ſo liable to, in their opinion, as too great a fixednes in that Religion, whoſe judicious & ſolid grounds, both from Scripture, and Antiquity, wil not give My Conſcience leave to approve or conſent to thoſe many dangerous and divided Innovations, which the bold Ignorance of ſome men would needs obtrud upon me, & my peop'e.

Contrary to thoſe well tried foundations both of Truth, and Order, which men of far greater Learning, and clearer Zeal, have ſetled in the Confeſsion and Conſtitution of this Church in *England*; which many former Parliaments in the moſt calme, and unpaſsionate times, have oft confirmed; In which I ſhall ever, by Gods help, perſevere, as believing it hath moſt of Primitive Truth and Order.

Nor did My uſing the aſſiſtance of ſome Papiſts, which were my Subjects, any way fight againſt My Religion, as ſome men would needs interpret it: eſpecially thoſe who leaſt of all men cared whom they imployed, or what they ſaid, or did, ſo they might prevaile. 'Tis ſtrange that ſo wiſe men, as they would be eſteemed,

ſhould

ſhould not conceive, That differences of perſwaſion in matters of Religion may eaſily fall out, where there is the fameneſs of duty, Allegiance, and ſubjection. The firſt they owe as men, and Chriſtians to God; the ſecond, they owe to Me in Common, as their *King*: different profeſſions in point of Religion, cannot (any more than in Civill Trades) take away the community of relations either to Parents, or to Princes: And where is there ſuch an *Oglio* or medley of various Religions in the world again, as thoſe men entertaine in their ſervice (who find moſt fault with me) without any ſcruple, as to the diverſity of their Sects and Opinions?

It was, indeed, a foule and indelible ſhame, for ſuch as would be counted Proteſtants, to enforce Me, a declared Proteſtant, their Lord & King, to a neceſſary uſe of Papiſts, or any other, who did but their duty to help Me to defend My ſelfe.

Nor did I more than is lawfull for any King, in ſuch exigents to uſe the aid of any his Subjects. I am ſorry the Papiſts ſhould have a greater ſenſe of their Allegiance, than many Proteſtant profeſſors; who ſeem to have learned, & to practiſe the worſt principles of the worſt Papiſts.

Indeed, it had bin a very impertinent and unſeaſonable ſcruple in Me, (and very pleaſing no doubt to My enemies) to have been then diſputing the points of different beliefs in My Subjects, when I was diſputed with by ſwords points: and when I needed the help of My Subjects

as men, no leſſe then their prayers as Chriſtians.

The noiſe of My Evill Councellours was another uſefull device for thoſe, who were impatient any mens counſels but their owne, ſhould be followed in Church or State; who were ſo eager in giving Me better counſel, that they would not give Me leave to take it with freedome, as a Man, or honour, as a King; making their counſels more like a drench that muſt be powred down, then a draught which might be fairly and leiſurely drank, if I liked it.

I will not juſtifie beyond humane errours and frailties My ſelfe, or My Counſellours: They might be ſubject to ſome miſcariages, yet ſuch as were far more reparable by ſecond and better thoughts, than thoſe enormous extravagances, wherewith ſome men have now even wildred and almoſt quite loſt both Church and State.

The event of things at laſt will make it evident to My Subjects, that had I followed the worſt Couucels, that My worſt Counſellours ever had the boldneſſe to offer to Me, or My ſelf any inclination to uſe; I could not ſo ſoon have brought both Church and State in three flouriſhing Kingdomes, to ſuch a *Chaos* of confuſions, and Hell of miſeries, as ſome have done; out of which they cannot, or will not in the midſt of th i many great advantages, redeeme either Me or My Subjects.

No men were more willing to complaine, than I was to redreſſe what I ſaw in Reaſon was either

either done or adviſed amiſſe; and this I thought I had done, even beyond the expectation of moderate men; who were ſorry to ſee me prone even to injure My ſelf, out of a Zeal to relcive my Subjects.

But other mens inſatiable deſire of revenge upon Me, My Court, and My Clergy; hath wholly beguiled both Church and State, of the benefit of all My, either Retractations, or Conceſſions; &, withall, hath deprived all thoſe (now ſo zealous Perſecutors) both of the comfort & reward of their former pretended perſecutions, wherein they ſo much gloryed among the vulgar; and which, indeed, a truly humble Chriſtian will ſo highly prize, as rather not be relieved, then be revenged, ſo as to be bereaved of that Crowne of chriſtian Patience, which attends humble & injured ſufferers.

Another artifice uſed to withdraw My Peoples affections from Me, to their deſignes, was, The noiſe and oſtentation of liberty, which men are not more prone to deſire, then unapt to bear in the popular ſenſe, which is to do what every man likes beſt.

If the Divineſt liberty be to will what men ſhould, & to do what they ſo will, according to Reaſon; Lawes, and Religion; I envy not My ſubjects that Liberty, which is all I deſire to enjoy My ſelf; So far am I from the deſire of oppreſſing theirs: Nor were thoſe Lords & Gentlemen which aſſiſted Me, ſo prodigall of their liberties,

as with their Lives and Fortunes to help on the enſlaving of themſelves and their poſterities.

As to Civill Immunities, none but ſuch as deſire to drive on their Ambitious and Covetous deſignes over the ruines of Church and State, Prince, Peers, and People, wil never deſire greater freedoms then the Laws alow, whoſe bounds good men count their Ornament & protection; others, their Menacles and Opreſſion.

Nor is it juſt any man ſhould expect the reward & benefit of the Law, who deſpiſeth its rule and direction, loſing juſtly his ſafety, while he ſeeks an unreaſonable liberty.

Time will beſt inform my Subjects, that thoſe are the beſt preſerver of their true liberties, who allow themſelves the leaſt licentiouſneſs againſt, or beyond the Laws.

They will feele it at laſt to their coſt, that it is impoſsible thoſe men ſhould be really tender of their fellow-Subjects libertyes, who have the hardineſſe to uſe their King with ſo ſevere reſtraint, againſt all Laws, both Divine and Humane, under which; yet, I wil rather periſh, then complain to thoſe, who want nothing to compleat their mirth, and triumph, but ſuch muſick.

In point of true conſciencious tendernes (attended with humility and meeknes, not with proud & arrogant activity, which ſeeks to hatch every Egge of different opinion to a Faction or Schiſme) I have oft declared, how little I deſire My Laws and Scepter ſhould intrench on Gods Soveraignty,

Soveraignty, which is the only King of mens Conſciences; and yet he hath laid ſuch reſtraints upon men, as commands them to be ſubject for Conſcience ſake, giving no men liberty to break the Law eſtabiſhed, further then with meeknes and patience, they are content to ſuffer the penalties annexed, rather then perturb the publick peace.

The truth is, ſome men thirſt after Novelties; others deſpaire to relieve the neceſſities of their Fortunes, or ſatisfie their Ambition, in peaceable times, (diſtruſting Gods providence, as well as their own merits) were the ſecret (but principal,) impulſives to thoſe popular Commotions, by which Subjects have been diſcharged to expend much of thoſe plentifull Eſtates they got & enjoyed under my government, in peaceable times; which yet muſt now be blaſted with all the odious reproaches, which impotent malice can invent; & My ſelf expoſed to all thoſe contempts, which may moſt diminiſh the Majeſty of a King, and encreaſe the ungratefull Inſolencies of My People.

For Mine Honour, I am wel aſſured, that as mine Innocency is clear before God; in point of of any calumnies they object; ſo My reputation ſhall like the Son (after Owles and Bats have had their freedome in the night and darker times) riſe and recover it ſelfe to ſuch a degree of ſplendour, as thoſe ferall Birds ſhall

ſhall be greived to behold, and unable to bear. For never were any Princes more glorious the thoſe whom God hath ſuffer'd to be tried in the fornace of afflictions, by their injurious ſubjects.

And who knows but the juſt and merciful God will do Me good, for ſome mens hard, falſe & evill ſpeeches againſt Me; wherein they ſpake rather what they wiſh, than what they believe or know. Nor can I ſuffer ſo much in point of honour, by thoſe rude and ſcandalous Pamphlets (which like fire, in great conflagrations, fly up & down to ſet all places on like flames) than thoſe men do, who pretending to ſo much piety, are ſo forgetfull of their duty to God and Me: By no way ever vindicating the Majeſty of their KING againſt any of thoſe, who, contrary to the precept of God, and precedent of Angels, *ſpeak evill of dignityes, and bring rayling accuſations againſt thoſe*, who are honoured with the name of Gods. But 'tis no wonder, if men not fearing God, ſhould not Honour their Kings

They will eaſily contemn ſuch ſhaddowes of God, who reverence not that Supreme, and adorable Majeſty; in compariſon of whom all the glory of Men & Angels is but obſcurity; yet hath he graven ſuch Characters of divine Authority, and ſacred power upon Kings, as none may without ſin ſeek to blot them out. Nor ſhal their black veiles be able to hide the ſhining of My face, while God gives Me a heart frequently & humbly to converſe with him, from whom alone

alone are all the traditions of true glory and Majeſty.

Thou, O Lord, knoweſt My reproach, and My diſhonour, My Adverſaries are all before thee.

My Soule is among Lyons, among them that are ſet on fire, even the Suns of Men; whoſe teeth are ſpears and arrows, their tongue a ſharp ſword.

Mine Enemies reproach Me all the day long, and thoſe that are mad againſt me are ſworn together.

O My God, how long ſhall the ſons of men turne my glory into ſhame? how long ſhall they love vanity, and ſeek after lies?

Thou haſt heard the reproaches of wicked men on every ſide. Hold not thy peace, leaſt My Enemies prevaile againſt me, and lay mine Honour in the duſt.

Thou, O Lord, ſhalt deſtroy them that ſpeak lies: the Lord will abhor both the bloud thirſty, and deceitfull men.

Make my righteouſneſſe to appear as the light, and mine innocency to ſhine forth as the Sun at noone day.

Suffer not my ſilence to betray mine innocence, nor my diſpleaſure, my patience; That after my Saviours example, being reviled, I may not revile againe; &, being curſed by them, I may bleſſe them.

Thou that wouldſt not ſuffer Shimei's *tongue to go unpuniſhed, when by thy iudgements on* David *he might ſeem to iuſtifie his diſdainfull reproaches, give me grace to intercede with thy mercy for theſe my enemies, that the reward of falſe and lying tongues, even hot burning coals of eternall fire, may not be brought upon them.* Let

Let my prayers, and patience, be as water to coole and quench their tongues, who are already ſet on fire with the fire of Hell, and tormented with thoſe malicious flames.

Let me be happy to refute, and put to ſilence their evill-ſpeaking by well-doing; and let them enioy not the fruit of their lips, but of my prayer for their repentance, and thy pardon.

Teach me Davids *patience and* Hezekiahs *devotion, that I may looke to thy mercy through mans malice, and ſee thy Iuſtice in their ſin.*

Let Sheba's *ſeditious ſpeeches,* Rabſheka's *railing,* & Shemei's *curſing, provoke, as my humble prayer to thee, ſo thy renewed bleſſing toward Me.*

Though they curſe, do thou bleſſe, and I ſhall be bleſſed; and made a bleſſing to my people.

That the ſtone, which ſome builders refuſe, may become the head-ſtone of the corner.

Looke downe from heaven, and ſave me, from the reproach of them that would ſwallow me up.

Hide me in the ſecret of thy preſence, from the pride of man, & keep me from the ſtrife of tongues.

16. *Vpon the Ordinance againſt the Common-Prayer-Booke.*

IT is no news to have all Innovations uſhered in with the name of Reformations in Church and State, by thoſe, who, ſeeking to gaine reputation with the Vulgar for their extraordinary parts and piety, muſt needs undoe whatever was formerly ſetled never ſo well and wiſely.

So-

So hardly can the pride of thoſe that ſtudy Novelties, allow former times any ſhare or degree of wiſdome or godlineſſe. And becauſe matter of prayer and devotion to God juſtly beares a great part in Religion,(being the Souls more immediate converſe with the divine Majeſty)nothing could be more plauſible to the peopl than to tel them, They ſerved God amiſſe in that point. Hence our publique Liturgy or Formes of conſtant Prayers muſt be(not amended,in what upon free and publique advice might ſeeme to ſober men inconvenient for matter or manner, to which I ſhould eaſily conſent,but)wholly caſhiered and aboliſhed; and, after many popular contempts offered to the Booke, and thoſe that uſed it according to their Conſciences, and the Lawes in force,it muſt be crucified by an Ordinance, the better to pleaſe either thoſe men, who gloried in their extemporary veyn and fluency; or others,who, conſcious to their own formality in the uſe of it, thought they fully expiated their ſin of not uſing it aright, by laying all the blame upon it, and a totall rejection of it as a dead letter,thereby to excuſe the deadneſs of their hearts. As for the matter contained in the book,ſober & learned men have ſufficiently vindicated it againſt the cavils and exceptions of thoſe, who thought it a part of piety to make what profan objections,they could againſt it, eſpecially for Popery & Superſtition; whereas no doubt,the Liturgy was exactly conformed to the

doctrine

doctrine of the Church of *Engl.* and this by all reformed churches is confeſſed to be moſt ſound and Orthodox. For the manner of uſing Set & preſcribed Formes, there is no doubt but that wholſome words being known & fitted to mens underſtandings, are ſooneſt received into their hearts, and apteſt to excite and carry along with them judicious and fervent affections.

Nor doe I ſee any reaſon why Chriſtians ſhould be weary of a wel-compoſed Liturgy (as I hold this to be) more than of all other things, wherein the conſtancy abates nothing of the excellency and uſefulneſſe.

I could never ſee any Reaſon, why any Chriſtian ſhould abhor, or be forbidden to uſe the ſame forms of prayer, ſince he prayes to the ſame God, believes in the ſame Saviour, profeſſeth the ſame Truths, reads the ſame Scriptures, hath the ſame duties upon him, and feels the ſame daily wants for the moſt part, both inward & outward, which are common to the whole Church.

Sure we may as wel before-hand know what we pray, as to whom we pray; & in what words, as to what ſenſe; when we deſire the ſame things, what hinders we may not uſe the ſame words? our appetite and diſgeſtion too may be good when we uſe, as we pray for, *our daily bread.*

Some men, I heare, are ſo impatient not to uſe in all their devotion their own invention, and gifts, that they not only diſuſe (as too many) but wholly caſt away & contemn the *Lords Prayer*; whoſe

whoſe great guilt is, that it is the warrant & originall pattern of all ſet Liturgies, in the Chriſtian Church. I ever thought that the proud oſtentation of mens abilities for invention, and the vain affectations of variety for expreſsions, in Publique Prayer, or any ſacred Adminiſtrations, merits a greater brand of ſinne, than that which they call Coldneſſe and Barrenneſſe: Nor are men in thoſe novelties leſſe ſubject to formall and ſuperficiall tempers (as to their hearts) than in the uſe of conſtant Formes, where not the words, but mens hearts are too blame.

I make no doubt but a man may be very formal in the moſt extemporary variety; and very fervently devout in the moſt wonted expreſſions. Nor is God more a God of variety, than of conſtancy: Nor are conſtant Forms of Prayers more likely to flat, & hinder the Spirit of prayer, & devotion, than un-premeditated & confuſed variety to diſtract, and loſe it.

Though I am not againſt a grave, modeſt, diſcreet, & humble uſe of Miniſters gifts, even in publique, the better to fit, & excite their own, & the Peoples affections to the preſent occaſions; yet I know no neceſſity why private and ſingle abilityes ſhould quite juſtle out, and deprive the Church of the joynt abilityes & concurrent gift of many learned and godly men; ſuch as the Compoſers of the Service booke were; who may in all reaſon be thought to have more of gifts and graces enabling them to Compoſe with

with ſerious deliberation & concurrent adviſe, ſuch Forms of prayers, as may beſt fit the churches common want, inform the Hearers underſtanding; and ſtir up that fiduciary and fervent application of their ſpirits, (wherein conſiſts the very life and ſoul of prayer, and that ſo much pretended Spirit of prayer) than any private man by his ſolitary abilities can be preſumed to have; which, what they are many times (even there, where they make a great noiſe and ſhew) the affectations, emptineſſe, impertinency, rudeneſſe, confuſions, flatneſſe, levity, obſcurity, vain, and ridiculous repititions, the ſenſeleſſe, and oft-times blaſphemous expreſſions; all theſe burthened with a moſt tedious and intolerable length, do ſufficiently convince all men, but thoſe who glory in that Phariſaick way.

Wherein men muſt be ſtrangely impudent, and flatterers of themſelves, not to have an infinite ſhame of what they ſo do and ſay, in things of ſo ſacred a nature, before God & the Church, after ſo ridiculous, & indeed, profane a manner.

Nor can it be expected, but that in dutyes of frequent performance, as Sacramentall adminiſtrations, and the like, which are ſtil the ſame, Miniſters muſt either come to uſe their own forms conſtantly which are not like to be ſound, or comprehenſive of the nature of the duty, as Forms of Publick compoſure; or elſe they muſt euery time affect new expreſſions when the ſubject is the ſame; which can hardly be preſumed

in

in any mans greateſt ſufficiencyes not to want (many times) much of that compleatneſſe, order and gravity, becomming thoſe duties, which by this means are expoſed at every celebration to every Miniſters private infirmities, indiſpoſitions, errours, diſorders, & defects; both for judgment and expreſſion.

A ſerious ſenſe of which inconvenience in the Church unavoidably following every mans ſeverall manner of officiating, no doubt, firſt occaſioned the wiſdom & piety of the Ancient churches, to remedy thoſe miſchiefs, by the uſe of conſtant Lyturgies of publick compoſure.

The want of which I believe this Church will ſufficiently feel, when the unhappy fruits of many mens un-governed ignorance, and confident defects, ſhall be diſcovered in more errours, ſciſmes, diſorders, and uncharitable diſtractions in Religion, which are already but too many; the more is the pity.

However, if violence muſt needs bring in, and abet thoſe innovations, (that men may not ſeem to have nothing to do) which Law, Reaſon, & Religion forbids, at leaſt to be ſo obtruded, as wholy to juſtle out the publick Lyturgy.

Yet nothing can excuſe that moſt unjuſt and partiall ſeverity of thoſe men, who either lately had ſubſcribed to, uſed and maintained the Service-book; or refuſing to uſe, it cryed out of the rigour of the Laws and Biſhops, which ſuffered them not to uſe the liberty of their conſciences, in not uſing it.

That theſe men (I ſay) ſhould ſo ſuddenly change the Lyturgie into a Directory, as if the Spirit needed help for invention, though not for expreſsions; or as if matter preſcribed did not as much ſtint and obſtruct the Spirit, as if it were cloathed in, and confined to, fit words: (So ſlight and eaſie is that Legerdemain which will ſerve to delude the vulgar.)

That further, they ſhould uſe ſuch ſeverity as not to ſuffer, without penalty, any to uſe the Common-Prayer-Book publickly, although their Conſciences binde them to it, as a duty of piety to GOD, and Obedience to the Laws. Thus I ſee, no men are prone to be greater Tyrants, and more rigorus exacters upon others to conform to their illegall novelties, then ſuch, whoſe pride was formerly leaſt diſpoſed to the obedience of lawfull Conſtitutions; and whoſe licentious humours, moſt pretended Conſcientious liberties; which freedome, with much regret, they now allow to Me, and My Chaplains, when they may have leave to ſerue Me; whoſe abilities, euen in their extemporary way, come not ſhort of the other. but their modeſty and learning far exceeds the moſt of them.

But this matter is of ſo popular a nature, as ſome men knew it would not bear learned and ſober debates, leaſt, being convinced by the evidence of Reaſon, as well as Laws, they ſhould have been driven either to ſinne more againſt their knowledge, by taking away the Lyturgy;

or

or to displease some faction of the people by continuing the use of it.

Though I believe they have offended more considerable men, not only for their numbers & estate, but for their weighty and judicious piety, than those are, whose weaknes or giddines they sought to gratifie by taking it away.

One of the greatest faults some men found with the Common-Prayer-book, I believe, was this, That it taught them to pray so oft for Me; to which Petitions they had not Loyalty enough to say *Amen*, nor yet charity enough to forbear Reproaches, and even cursings of Me in their own forms, instead of praying for Me.

I wish their Repentance may be their only punishment; that seeing the mischiefs which the disuse of publique Liturgyes hath already produced, they may restore that credit, use, and reverence to them, which by the ancient Churches were given to *Set* Formes of sound and wholsome words.

And thou, O Lord, which art the same God, blessed for ever: whose mercies are full of varie y; & yet of constancy; Thou denyest us not a new & fresh sense of our old and dayly wants: nor despisest renued affections ioyned to constant expressions.

Let us not want the benefit of thy Churches united & wel-advised Devotions.

Let the matters of our prayers be agreeable to thy will, which is alwaies the same; and the fer-

vency of our ſpirits to the motions of thy holy Spirit in us.

And then we doubt not, but thy ſpirituall perfections are ſuch, as thou art neither to be pleaſed with affected Novelties for matter or manner, nor offended with the pious conſtancy of our petitions in them both.

Whoſe variety or conſtancy thou haſt no where either forbidden or commanded, but left them to the piety and prudence of thy Church, that both may be uſed, neither diſpiſed.

Keep men in that pious moderation of their Iudgments in matters of Religion; that their ignorance may not offend others, nor their opinion of their own abilities tempt them to deprive others of what they may lawfully and devoutly uſe, to help their infirmities.

And ſince the advantage of Errour conſiſts in novelty and variety, as Truths in unity and conſtancy, Suffer not thy Church to be peſtered with errours, and diformed with undecencies in thy ſervice, under the pretence of variety and novelty. Nor to be deprived of truth, unity, and order, under this fallacy, That conſtancy is the cauſe of formality.

Lord keep us from formall Hypociſie in our own hearts, and then we know that praying to thee, or praiſing of thee (with David, and other holy men) in the ſame formes cannot hurt us.

Give us wiſdome to amend what is amiſſe within us, and there will be leſſe to mend without us.

Evermore defend and deliver thy Church from the

17. *Of the differences betweene the* King *and the two Houſes, in point of Church-government.*

TOuching the GOVERNMENT of the Church by Biſhops, the common Jealouſie hath bin, that I am earneſt and reſolute to maintain it, not ſo much out of piety, as policy, and reaſon of State.

Wherein ſo far indeed reaſon of State doth induce Me to approve that Government above any other, as I find it impoſſible for a Prince to preſerve the State in quiet, unleſſe he hath ſuch an influence upon Church-men, and they ſuch a dependance on Him, as may beſt reſtraine the ſeditious exorbitances of Miniſters Tongues; who with the Keys of Heaven have ſo far the Keys of the Peoples hearts, as they prevaile much by their Oratory to let in, or ſhut out, both Peace and Loyalty.

So that, Ibeing (as *King*) intruſted by God, & the Laws, with the good both of Church and State; I ſee no reaſon I ſhould give up, or weaken by any change, that power and influence which in right and reaſon I ought to have over both.

The moving Biſhops out of the Houſe of Peers (of which I have elſewhere given an account) was ſufficient to take off any ſuſpicion,

that I encline to them for any uſe to be made of their Votes in State affairs: Though indeed I never thought any Biſhop worthy to ſit in that Houſe, who would not Vote according to his Conſcience.

I muſt now in charity be thought deſirous to preſerve that Government in its right conſtitution, as a matter of Religion; wherein both My judgement is juſtly ſatisfyed, that it hath of all other the fulleſt Scripture grounds, and alſo the conſtant practiſe of all Chriſtian Churches; til of late years, the tumultuarineſſe of People, or the factiouſneſſe and pride of Presbyters, or the covetouſneſſe of ſome States and Princes, gave occaſion to ſome mens wits to invent new modells, and propoſe them under ſpecious titles of *Chriſts Government, Scepter, and Kindome*; the better to ſerve their turns, to whom the change was beneficiall.

They muſt give Me leave, having none of their temptations to invite Me to alter the Government of Biſhops, (that I may have a Title to their Eſtates) not to believe their pretended grounds to any new wayes: contrary to the full, and conſtant teſtimony of all Hiſtories, ſufficiently convincing unbraſed men; that as the Primitive Churches were undoubtedly governed by the Apoſtls and their immediate Succeſſors firſt & beſt Biſhops; ſo it cannot in reaſon or charity be ſuppoſed, that al churches in the world ſhould either be ignorant of the rule by thē preſcribed

ſcribed, or ſo ſoon deviate from their divine and holy patterne: That ſince the firſt Age, for 1500. years not one Example can be produced of any ſetled Church, wherein were many Miniſters and Congregations, which had not ſome Biſhop above them, under whoſe jurisdiction and government they were.

Whoſe conſtant and univerſall practiſe agreeing with ſo large, and evident Scripture-directions, and examples, as are ſet down in the Epiſtles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, for the ſetling of that Government, not in the perſons only of *Timothy* and *Titus*, but in the ſucceſſion; (the want of Government being that, which the Church can no more diſpenſe with, in point of wel-being, then the want of the Word & Sacraments, in point of being) I wonder how men came to look with ſo envious an eye upon Biſhops power and authority, as to overſee both the Eccleſiaſticall uſe of them, and Apoſtolicall conſtitution: which to Me ſeems no leſſe evidently ſet forth as to the maine ſcope & deſign of thoſe Epiſtles; for the ſetling of a peculiar Office, Power, and Authority in them as Preſident-Biſhops above others, in point of Ordination, Cenſures, and other acts of Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline; then thoſe ſhorter Characters of the qualities and duties of Presbiter-Biſhops, and Deacons, are deſcribed in ſome parts of the ſame Epiſtles, who in the latitude and community of the name, were then, and may now not

improperly be called *Biſhops*, as to the overſight and care of ſingle Congregations, committed to them by the Apoſtles, or thoſe Apoſtolicall Biſhops, who (as *Timothy* and *Titus*) ſucceeded them in that ordinary power, there aſſigned over larger diviſions, in which were many Presbyters

The humility of thoſe firſt Biſhops avoiding the eminent title of Apoſtles, as a name in the Churches ſtile appropriated from its common notion (*of a Meſſenger or one ſent*) to that ſpeciall dignity which had extraordinary call, miſſion, gifts, and power immediatly from Chriſt: they contenſed themſelves with the ordinary titles of Biſhops and Presbyters; untill uſe, (the great Arbitrator of words, and Maſter of Language) finding reaſon to diſtinguiſh by a peculiar name thoſe perſons, whoſe power and office, were indeed diſtinct from, and above all other in the Church, as ſucceeding the Apoſtles in the ordinary and conſtant power of governing the Churches, (the honour of whoſe name they moderately, yet commendably declined) all Chriſtian Churches (ſubmitting to that ſpecial anthority) appropriated alſo the name of *Biſhop*, without any ſuſpition or reproach of arrogancy, to thoſe who were by apoſtolical propagation rightly deſcended & inveſted into that higheſt & largeſt power of governing even the moſt pure & primitive Churches: which, without all doubt, had many ſuchholy Biſhops, after the pattern of *Timothy* &

Titus

Titus; whoſe ſpeciall power is not more clearly ſet down in thoſe Epiſtles (the chief grounds & limits of all Epiſcopall claim, as from divine Right) then are the Characters of theſe perilous times, & thoſe men that make them ſuch, who, not enduring ſound doctrine, & clear teſtimonies of all Churches practiſe, are moſt perverſe diſputers, and proud Uſurpers, againſt true Epiſcopacy: who, if they be not Traytors and Boaſters, yet they ſeem to be very covetous, heady, high-minded; inordinate & feirce, lovers of themſelves, having much of the form, litle of the power of godlines.

Who, by popular heaps of weak, light, and unlearned Teachers, ſeeke to over-lay & ſmother the pregnancy and, authority of that power of Epiſcopall government, which; beyond al equivocation & vulgar fallacy of names, is moſt convincingly ſet forth, both by Scripture, and all after-Hiſtoryes of the Church.

This I write rather like a Divine, than a Prince that Poſterity may ſee, (if ever theſe Papers be publick) that I had fair grounds both from ſcripture-Canons, & Eccleſiaſticall examples, whereon My judgment was ſtated for Epiſcopall government. Nor was it any policy of State, or obſtinacy of wil, or partiality of affection, either to the men, or their Function which fixed Me; who cannot in point of worldly reſpects be ſo conſiderable to me as to recompence the injuries and loſſes I, and My deareſt relations with My Kingdoms,

Kingdomes, have ſuſtained, and hazarded, chiefly, at firſt, upon this quarrell.

And not only in Religion, of which Scripture is the beſt rule, and the Churches Vniverſall practice the beſt commentary, but alſo in right reaſon, and the true nature of Government, it cannot be thought that an orderly Subordination among Presbyters, or Miniſters, ſhould be any more againſt Chriſtianity, then it is in all ſecular and civill Governments, where parity breeds Confuſion and Faction.

I can no more believe, that ſuch order is inconſiſtent with true Religion, then good features are with beauty, or numbers with harmony.

Nor is it likely that God, who appointed ſeverall orders, and a Prelacy, in the Government of his Church, among the Jewiſh Prieſts, ſhould abhor or forbid them among Chriſtian Miniſters; who have as much of the principles of ſchiſme and diviſion as other men; for preventing and ſuppreſſing of which, the Apoſtolicall wiſdom (which was divine) after that Chriſtians were multiplied to many Congregations, and Presbyters with them, appointed this way of Government, which might beſt preſerve order and union with Authority.

So that I conceive it was not the favour of Princes, or ambition of Presbyters, but the wiſdome and piety of the Apoſtles, that firſt ſetled Biſhops in the Church; which Authority they conſtantly uſed, and injoyed in thoſe times,

times, which were pureſt for Religion, though ſharpeſt for Perſecution.

Not that I am againſt the managing of this preſidency and authority in one man; by the joynt Counſell and conſent of many Presbyters: I have offerd to reſtore that, as a fit means to avoid thoſe Errours, Corruptions, and Partialities, which are incident to any one man; Alſo to avoyd Tyranny, which becomes no Chriſtians, leaſt of all Church-men; beſides, it will be a means to take away that burden, and *odium* of afaires, which may lie too heavy on one mans ſhoulders, as indeed I think it formerly did on the Biſhops here.

Nor can I ſee what can be more agreeable both to Reaſon and Religion, then ſuch a frame of Government which is paternall, not Magiſterial; and wherein not only the neceſſity of avoyding Faction and Confuſion, Emulations and Contemps, which are prone to riſe among equals in power and function, but alſo the differences of ſome Miniſters gifts, and aptitudes for Government above others, doth invite to imploy them, in reference to thoſe Abilities, wherein they are eminent. Nor is this judgment of Mine, touching Epiſcopacy, any pre-occupation of opinion, which wil not admit any oppoſitions againſt it: it is well knowne I have endeavoured to ſatisfie my ſelf in what the chiefe Patrons for other wayes can ſay againſt this, or for theirs: And I finde they have, as farr leſſe of

Scripture

Scripture grounds, and of Reaſon; ſo for examples, and practiſe of the Church, or teſtimonies of Hiſtories, they are wholy deſtitute, where in the whole ſtream runs ſo for Epiſcopacy, that there is not the leaſt rivolet for any others.

As for thoſe obtruded examples of ſome late reformed Churches, (for many retain Biſhops ſtill) whom neceſſity of times and affaires rather excuſeth, then commendeth for their inconformity to all Antiquity; I could never ſee any reaſon why Churches orderly reformed and governed by Biſhops ſhould be forced to conforme to thoſe few, rather then to the Catholick example of all Ancient Churches, which needed no Reformation; and to thoſe Churches at this day, who, Governed by Biſhops in all the Chriſtian world, are many more then Presbyterians or Independents can pretend to be; All whom the Churches in My three Kingdoms, lately Governed by Biſhops, would equalize (I think) if not exceed.

Nor is it any point of wiſdom or charity, where Chriſtians differ, (as many do in ſome points) there to widen the differences, & at once to give all the Chriſtian world (except a handfull of ſome Proteſtants) ſo great a ſcandall in point of Church-government; whom though you may convince of their Errours in ſome points of Doctrine, yet you ſhal never perſwade them, that to compleat their Reformation, they muſt neceſſarily deſert, and wholly caſt off that Government

Government, which they, and all before them have ever owned as Catholick, Primitive, and Apoſtolicall: So farre, as never Schiſmaticks, nor Hereticks, (except thoſe Aerians) have ſtrayed from the Vnity, and Conformity of the Church in that point, ever having Biſhops above Presbyters.

Beſides, the late generall approbation and ſubmiſſion to this Government of Biſhops, by the Clergy, as well as the Laity of theſe Kindoms, is a great confirmation of My Judgement; and their inconſtancy is a great prejudice againſt their novelty; I cannot in charity ſo far doubt of their learning or integrity, as if they underſtood not what heretofore they did, or that they did confirme contrary to their conſciences; So that their facility and levity is never to be excuſed, who, before ever the point of Church-government had any free and impartiall debate, contrary to their former Oathes and practice, againſt their obedience to the Laws in force, and againſt My conſent, have not only quite cryed down the government by Biſhops; but have approved and incouraged the violent and moſt illegall ſtripping all the Biſhops, and many other Church-men, of all their due Authority and Revenues, even to the ſelling away, & utter alienation of thoſe church-lands from any Eccleſiaſtical uſes: So great a power hath the ſtream of times, & the prevalency of parties over ſome mens judgements; of whoſe ſo ſudden and ſo to-

tal

tall change little reaſon can be given, beſides the *Scots* Army comming into *England*.

But the folly of theſe men will at laſt puniſh it ſelf, and the Deſertors of Epiſcopacy will appear the greateſt enemies to, & betrayers of their own intereſt: for Presbytery is never ſo conſiderable or effectuall, as when it is joyned to, and crowned with Epiſcopacy. All Miniſters will find as great a difference in point of thriving, between the favour of the People & of Princes, as Plants do betweene being watered by hand, or by the ſweet and liberal dews of Heaven.

The tenuity and contempt of Clergy-men wil ſoon let them ſee, what a poor carcaſſe they are, when parted from the influence of that Head, to whoſe Supremacy they have been ſworn.

A little moderation might have prevented great miſchiefs; I am firm to Primitive Epiſcopacy, not to have it extirpated, (if I can hinder it.) Diſcretion without paſſion might eaſily reform, whatever the ruſt of times, or indulgence of laws or corruption of manners have brought upon it. It being a groſſe vulgar errour to impute to, or revenge upon the Function the faults of times, or perſons; which ſeditious & popular principle, and practiſe all wiſe men abhor. For thoſe ſecular additaments & ornaments of Authority, civill Honor & Eſtate, which My Predeceſſors, & Chriſtian Princes in al countries have annexed to Biſhops & Church-men, I look upon them but as juſt rewards of their learning, and piety, who

who are fit to be in any degree of Church-Government; alſo enablements to works of Charity, and Hoſpitality, meet ſtrengthenings of their Authority in point of reſpect, and obſervance; which in peaceable times is hardly payed to any Governours by the meaſure of their vertues, ſo much as by that of their Eſtates; Poverty and meanneſſe expoſing them and their Authority to the contempt of licentious minds, and manners; which perſecuting times much reſtrained. I would have ſuch men Biſhops, as are moſt worthy of thoſe incouragements, and beſt able to uſe them: if at any time my judgement of men failed, My good intention made My errour veniall: And ſome Biſhops, I am ſure, I had, whoſe learning, gravity, and piety, no men of any worth or forehead can deny: But of all men, I would have Church-men, eſpecially the Governours to be redeemed from that vulgar neglect, which (beſides an innate principle of vitious oppoſition, which is in all men againſt thoſe that ſeem to reprove, or reſtrain them) will neceſſarily follow both the Presbyterian party, which makes all Miniſters equall; and the Independent inferiority, which ſets their Paſtors below the People.

This for My judgment touching Epiſcopacy; wherein (God knows) I do not gratifie any deſign or paſſion with the leaſt perverting of truth.

And now I appeal to God above, and all the Chriſtian world, whether it be juſt for Subjects,

Subjects, or pious for Christians; by violence, & infinite indignities, with servile restraints to seek to force Me their KING and Soveraign, as some men have endeavoured to do, against al these grounds of My Judgment, to consent to their weake and divided novelties.

The greatest Pretender of them desires not more then I do, That the Church should be governed, as Christ hath appointed, in true Reason, and in Scripture; of which I could never see any probable shew for any other wayes, who either content themselves with the examples of some Churches in their infancy & solitude, when one Presbyter might serve one Congregation, in a City or Country; or else they deny these most evident Truths, That the Apostles were Bishops over those Presbyters they ordained, as wel as over the Churches they planted; and that Government, being necessary for the Churches wel-being, when multiplyed & sociated, must also necessarily descend from the Apostles to others, after the example of that power and superiority, they had above others; which could not end with their persons; since the use and ends of such Government still continue.

It is most sure, that the purest Primitive and best Churches flourished under Episcopacy; & may so still, if ignorance, superstition, avarice, revenge, and other disorderly and disloyall passions had not so blown up some mens minds against it, that what they want of Reasons or primitive

mitive Patterns, they ſupply with violence and oppreſſion, wherein ſome mens zeal for Biſhops Lands, Houſes, & Revenues hath ſet them on work to eat up Epiſcopacy: which (however other men eſteeme) to Me is no leſſe ſin, then Sacriledge; or a robbery of God (the giver of all we have) of that portion which devout minds have thankfuly given again to him, in giving it to his Church and Prophets; through whoſe hands he graciouſly accepts even a cup of cold water, as a libation offered to him.

Furthermore, as to My particular engagement above other men, by an Oath agreeable to My judgment I am ſolemnly obliged to preſerve that Government, and the Rights of the Church

Were. I convinced of the unlawfulnes of the Function, as Antichriſtian, (which ſome men boldly but weakly calumniate) I could ſoon, with Judgement, break that Oath, which erroneouſly was taken by Me.

But being daily by the beſt diſquiſition of truth, more confirmd in the reaſon & Religion of that to which I am Sworn; how can any man that wiſheth not My damnation, perſwade Me at once to ſo notorious and combined ſins, of Sacriledg and Perjury? beſides the many perſonall Injuſtices I muſt doe to many worthy men, who are as legally inveſted in the ir Eſtates, as any, who ſeek to deprive thē; and they have by no Law, been convicted of thoſe Crimes, which might forfeit their eſtates & livelyhoods.

I have oft wondred how men pretending to tendernes of Conſcience, and Reformation, can at once tell Me, that My Coronation Oath binds Me to conſent to whatſoever they ſhall propound to me, (which they urge with ſuch violence) though contrary to all that Rationall and Religious freedom which every man ought to preſerve; and of which they ſeem ſo tender of their own Votes; yet at the ſame time theſe men will needs perſwade Me That I muſt, and ought to diſpenſe with, and roundly break that part of My Oath, which binds me (agreeable to the beſt light of Reaſon and Religion I have) to maintain the Government, and legall Rights of the Church. 'Tis ſtrange My Oath ſhould be valid in that part, which both My ſelf, and all men in their own caſe, eſteem injurious & unreaſonable, as being againſt the very natural and eſſentiall liberty of our ſouls; yet it ſhould be invalid, and to be broken in another clauſe, wherein I think my ſelf juſtly obliged, both to God & Man. Yet upon this Rack chiefly have I been held ſo long, by ſome mens ambitious covetouſneſſe, and Sacrilegious Cruelty; torturing (with Me) both Church and State, in Civill diſſentions; till I ſhall be forced to conſent, and declare that I dot approve, what (God knowes) I utterly diſlike, and in My Soul abhorre as many wayes highly againſt Reaſon, Juſtice, and Religion: and whereto, If I ſhould ſhamefully and diſhonourably give My conſent

ſent; yet ſhould I not by ſo doing, ſatisfie the divided Intereſts and Opinions of thoſe Parties, which contend with each other, as well as both againſt Me and Epiſcopacy.

Nor can My late condeſending to the *Scots* in point of Church-government, be rightly objected againſt Me, as an inducement for Me, to conſent to the like in My other Kingdoms; For it ſhould be conſidered that Epiſcopacy was not ſo rooted and ſetled there, as 'tis here; nor I (in that reſpect) ſo ſtrictly bound to continue it in that Kingdom as in this; for what I think in My judgement beſt, I may not think ſo abſolutly neceſſary for all places, and at all times.

If any ſhall impute My yeelding to them, as My failing and ſin, I can eaſily acknowledge it, but that is no argument to do ſo again, or much worſe; I being now more convinced in that point: nor indeed hath My yeelding to them bin ſo happy and ſucceſſefull as to incourage Me to grant the like to others.

Did I ſee any thing more of Chriſt, as to Meekneſſe, Juſtice, Order, Charity, and Loyalty in thoſe that pretend to other modes of Government, I might ſuſpect My judgement to be biaſed, or fore-ſtalled with ſome prejudice & wontednes of opinion; but I have hitherto ſo much cauſe to ſuſpect the contrary in the manners of many of thoſe men, that I cannot from them gain the leaſt reputation for their new wayes of Government. Nor can I find that in any Refor-

med Churches (whoſe paterns are ſo cryed up, and obtruded upon the Churches under My Dominion) that either Learning, or Religion, works of Piety or Charity, have ſo flouriſhed beyond what they have done in My Kingdomes (by Gods bleſſing) which might make me beleive either Presbytery or Independency have a more benigne influence upon the Church and mens hearts and lives, than Epiſcopacy in its right conſtitution.

The abuſes of which, deſerve to be extirpated, as much as the uſe retained; for I think it far better to hold to primitive & uniform Antiquity, than to comply with divided novelty.

A right Epiſcopacy would at once ſatisfie all juſt deſires and intereſts of good Biſhops, humble Presbyters, and ſober people; ſo as Church affairs ſhould be managed neither with tyranny, purity, nor popularity; neither Biſhops ejected, nor Presbiters deſpiſed, nor People oppreſſed.

And in this integrity both of My judgment & Conſcience, I hope God will preſerve Me.

For Thou, O Lord, knoweſt My uprightneſſe, and tenderneſſe, as thou haſt ſet me to be a Defender of the Faith, and a Protector of thy Church, ſo ſuffer me not by any violence, to be overborn againſt My Conſcience.

Ariſe, O Lord, maintaine thine own Cauſe, let not thy Church be deformed; as to that Government, which derived from thy Apoſtles, hath

been

been retained in pureſt and primitive times, till the Revenues of the Church became the obiect of ſecular envy; which ſeeks to rob it of all the incouragements of Learning and Religion.

Make me, as the good Samaritan, compaſſionate, and helpfull to thy afflicted Church; which ſome men have wounded and robbed; others paſſe by without regard, either to pitty, or relieve.

As my power is from thee, ſo give me grace to uſe it for thee.

And though I am not ſuffered to be Maſter of my other Rights as a KING, *yet preſerve me in that liberty of Reaſon, love of Religion, and thy Churches welfare; which are fixed in my Conſcience as a Chriſtian.*

Preſerve, from ſacrilegious invaſions, thoſe temporall bleſſings, which thy providence hath beſtowed on thy Church for thy glory.

Forgive their ſinnes and errours, who have deſerved thy iuſt permiſſion, thus to let in the wilde Boar and ſubtill Foxes, to waſt and deforme thy Vineyard, which thy right hand hath planted, and the dew of Heaven ſo long watred to a happy and flouriſhing eſtate.

O let me not bear the infamous brand to all Poſterity of being the the firſt Chriſtian KING *in this Kingdom, who ſhould conſent to the oppreſſions of thy Church, and the fathers of it; whoſe errours I would rather, with* Conſtantine, *cover with ſilence, and reform with meekneſſe, than expoſe their perſons, and ſacred functions to vulgar contempt.*

Thou, O Lord, ſeeſt how much I have ſuffered with, and for thy Church; make no long tarrying O my God, to deliver both me, and it, from unreaſonable men; whoſe counſels have brought forth and continue ſuch violent confuſions, by a precipitant deſtroying the ancient boundaries of thy Churches peace; thereby letting in all manner of errours, ſchiſmes, and diſorders.

O thou God, of order, and of truth, in thy good time, abate the malice, aſſuage the rage, and confound all the miſchievous devices of thine, mine, and thy Churches enemies.

That I, and all that love thy Church, may ſing praiſes to thee, and ever magnifie thy ſalvation, even before the ſons of men.

18. *Upon* Vxbridge-*treaty, and other Offers made by the* King:

I Look upon the way of Treaties, as a retiring from fighting like Beaſts, to arguing like Men; whoſe ſtrength ſhould be more in their underſtandings, than in their limbs.

And though I could ſeldome get opportunities to Treat, yet I never wanted either deſire or diſpoſition to it; having greater confidence of My Reaſon, than My Sword: I was ſo wholly reſolved to yeeld to the firſt, that I thought neither My ſelfe, nor others, ſhould need to uſe the ſecond, if once we rightly underſtood each other.

Nor

Nor did I ever think it a diminution of Me, to prevent them with Expreſſes of My deſires, and even importunities to Treat: It being an office, not onely of humanity, rather to uſe Reaſon, than Force; but alſo of Chriſtianity to *ſeek peace and enſue it.*

As I was very unwillingly compelled to defend My ſelf with Arms, ſo I very willingly embraced any thing tending to peace.

The events of all War by the ſword being very dubious, and of a Civill VVarre uncomfortable; the end had hardly recompencing, & late repairing the miſchief of the means.

Nor did any ſucceſſe I had ever, enhance with Me the price of Peace; as earneſtly deſired by Me as any man; though I was like to pay dearer for it then any man: All that I ſought to reſerve was, Mine Honour, and My Conſcience; the one I could not part with as a KING, the other as a Chriſtian.

The Treaty at *Uxbridge* gave the faireſt hopes of an happy compoſure; had others applyed themſelves to with the ſame moderation, as I did, I am confident the War had then ended. I was willing to condeſcend, as far as Reaſon, Honour, and Conſcience, would give Me leave; nor were the remaining difference ſo eſſential to My Peoples happines; or of ſuch conſequence as in the leaſt kind to have hindred My Subjects either ſecurity or proſperity; for they beter enjoyed both, many years, before ever thoſe demands were made,

ſome of which, to deny, I think the greatest Juſtice to My ſelf, and favour to My ſubjects.
I ſee, Jealouſies are not ſo eaſily allayed, as they are raiſed. Some men are more afraid to retreat from voilent Engagements than to Engage: what is wanting in equity, muſt be made up in pertinacy. Such as had little to enjoy in Peace, or to loſe in warre, ſtudied to render the very name of Peace odious and ſuſpected.

In Church affaires, where I had leaſt liberty of prudence, having ſo many ſtrict tyes of Conſcience upon Me; yet I was willing to condeſcend ſo far to the ſetling of them, as might have given fair ſatisfaction to all men, whom faction, covetouſneſſe, or ſuperſtition had not engaged more, than any true zeal, charity, or love of reformation.

I was content to yeild to all that might ſeeme to advance true piety; I onely ſought to continue what was neceſſary in point of Order, maintenance, and Authority to the Churches Goverment; and what I am perſwaded (as I have elſewhere ſet down My thoughts more fully) is moſt agreeable to the true principles of all Government, raiſed to its full ſtature & perfection, as alſo to the primitive Apoſtolicall pattern, and the practiſe of the Univerſall Church conforme thereto. From which wholly to recede, without any probable reaſon urged or anſwered only to ſatisfie ſome mens wills and fantaſies (which yet agree not among themſelves in any point but

but that of extirpating Episcopacy, fighting against Me, I must needs argue such a softnes, & infirmity of mind in Me, as will rather part with Gods Truth, than Mans peace, and rather lose the Churches honour, than crosse some mens Factious humours.

God knows, and time wil discover, who were most too blame for the un-succesfulness of that Treaty, and who must bear the guilt of after-calamityes. I beleive, I am very excusable both before God, and all unpassionate men, who have seriously weighed those transactions, wherein I endeavoured no lesse the restauration of peace to my People, than the preservation of my own Crowns to my posterity.

Some men have that height, as to interpret all fair Condescendings, as Arguments of feebleness, and glory most in an unflexible stifness, when they see others most supple and inclinable to them.

A grand Maxime with them was alwaies to ask something, which in reason and honour must be denied, that they might have some colour to refuse all that was in other things granted; setting Peace at as high a rate, as the worst effects of Warre; endeavouring first to make Me destroy My self by dishonourable Concessions, that so they might have the lesse to do.

This was all which that Treaty, or any other produced, to let the world see, how litle I would deny, or they grant, in order to the publik peace.

That

That it gave occaſion to ſome mens further reſtiveneſſe, is imputable to their own depraved tempers, not to any Conceſſions or negations of Mine: I have alwayes the content of what I offered, and they the regreet, and blame, for what they refuſed.

The higheſt tide of ſucceſſe ſet me not above a Treaty, nor the loweſt ebbe below a Fight: Though I never thought it any ſign of true valour, to be prodigall of mens lives, rather then to be drawn to produce our own reaſons: or to ſubſcribe to other mens.

That which made Me for the moſt part preſage the unſucceſſefulnes of any Treaty; was, ſome mens unwillingneſſe to Treat: which implyed ſome things were to be gained by the Sword, whoſe unreaſonablenes they were loath to have fairly ſcanned, being more proper to be acted by Souldiers; than by Councellours. I pray God forgive them that were guilty of that Treaties breaking; & give them grace to make their advantages gotten by the the Sword a better opportunity to uſe ſuch moderation, as was then wanting; that ſo though Peace were for our ſins juſtly deferred, yet at laſt it may be happily obtain'd; what we could not get by our Treaties, we may gain by our prayers.

O Thou, that art the God of Reaſon, and of Peace, who diſdaineſt not to Treat with Sinners, preventing them with offers of attonement; and beſeeching them to be reconciled with thy ſelfe, who

who wantest not power or Iustice, to destroy them, yet aboundest in mercy to save: so often our hearts by the bloud of our Redeemer, and perswade us to accept of Peace with my selfe, and both to procure and preserve peace among our selves, as Men and Christians, How oft have I intreated for Peace, but when I speak thereof, they make them ready to War.

Condemne us not to our passions, which are destructive, both of our selves, and of others.

Cleare up our understandings, to see thy Truth, both in Reason, as Men; and in Religion, as Christians: and encline all our hearts to hold the unity of the Spirit, in the bond of Peace.

Take from us that enmity which is now in our hearts against thee: and give us that charity which should be among our selves.

Remove the evils of War we have deserved, and bestow upon us that Peace; which only Christ our great Peace maker cannot merit.

19. *Upon the various events of the Warre; Victories, and Defeats.*

THe various Successes of this unhappy war, have at least, afforded Me variety of good Meditations: sometimes God was pleased to try Me with victory, by worsting My Enemies, that I might know how with moderation and thanks to own, and use his power, who is only the true *Lord of Hosts*; able when he pleases to represse the confidence of those; that fought a against

againſt Me, with ſo great advantages for power and number.

From ſmall beginnings on My part he let Me ſee that I was not wholly forſaken by My peoples love, or his protection.

Other times God was pleaſed to exerciſe My patience, and teach Me not to truſt in the arme of Fleſh, but in the living God.

My ſins ſometimes prevailed againſt the juſtice of My Cauſe, and thoſe that were with Me wanted not matter and occaſion for his juſt chaſtiſement both of them, and Me: Nor were My enemies leſſe puniſhed by that proſperity, which hardened them to continue that injuſtice by open hoſtility, which was began by moſt riotous and unparliamentary Tumults.

There is no doubt but perſonall and private ſins may oft times over-balance the Juſtice of Publick engagements; nor doth God account every gallant Man (in the worlds eſteeme) a fit inſtrument to aſſert in the way of War a righteous Cauſe; The more men are prone to arrogate to their own skill, valour and ſtrength, the leſſe doth God ordinarily work by them for his owne glory.

I am ſure the event or ſucceſſe can never ſtate the Juſtice of any Cauſe, nor the peace of mens conſcinces, nor the eternall ſtate of their ſoules.

Thoſe with Me had (I thinke) clearly and undoubtedly, for their Juſtification the Word of God, and the Lawes of the Land, together with

with their own Oaths; all requiring obedience to My juſt commands; but to none other under Heaven without Me, or againſt Me, in the point of raiſing Armes.

Thoſe on the other ſide are forced to flie to the ſhifts of ſome pretended Fears and wild fundamentals of State, (as they call them) which actually overthrow the preſent fabrick, both of Church and State; being ſuch imaginary Reaſons for ſelf-defence as are moſt impertinent for thoſe men to alledge, who being My Subjects, were manifeſtly the firſt aſſaulters of Me and the Lawes: firſt by unſuppreſſed Tumults, after by liſted forces; The ſame allegations they uſe, wil fit any Faction that hath but power and confidence enough to ſecond with the ſword; all their demands againſt the preſent Lawes & Governour; which can never be ſuch as ſome ſide or other will not find fault with, ſo as to urge what they call a Reformation of them to a Rebellion againſt them, ſome paraſitick Preachers have dared to call thoſe martyrs, who dyed, fighting againſt Me, the Laws, their Oaths, and the Religion Eſtabliſhed. But ſober chriſtians know That glorious Title, can with Truth be applyed only to thoſe, who ſincerely preferred Gods Truth, and their duty in all theſe particulars before their lives, and all that was dear to them in this world; who having no advantagious deſigns by any Innovation, were religiouſly ſenſible of thoſe ties to God, the church, & my ſelf wch. lay upon their

their Souls, both for obedience & juſt aſſiſtance. God could, and I doubt not but he did through his mercy, crown many of them with eternall life, whoſe lives were loſt in ſo juſt a Cauſe; The deſtruction of their bodies being ſanctified, as a means to ſave their ſoules.

Their wounds, and temporall ruine ſerving as a gracious opportunity for their eternall health and happineſſe; while the evident approach of death did, through Gods grace, effectually diſpoſe their hearts to ſuch Humility, Faith, and Repentance, which together with the Rectitude of their preſent engagement, would fully prepare them for a better life then that, which their enemies brutiſh and diſloyall fierceneſſe could deprive them of; or without Repentance hope to enjoy.

They have often indeed, had the better againſt My ſide in the field, but never, I belive, at the Barre of Gods Tribunall, or their owne Conſciences; where they are more afraid to encounter thoſe many pregnant Reaſons, both from Law, Allegiance, and all true Chriſtian grounds, which conflict *with*, and accuſe them *in* their owne thoughts, then they oft were in a deſperate bravery to fight againſt thoſe Forces, which ſometimes God gave Me.

Whoſe condition conquered, and dying, I make no queſtion, but is infinitely more to be choſen by a ſober man, (that duely values his duty, his ſoule, and eternity, beyond the enjoyments

joyments of this preſent life) then the moſt triumphant glory, wherein their and Mine Enemies ſupervive; who can hardly avoid to be daily tormented by that horrid guilt, wherwith their ſuſpicious, or now convicted Conſciences doe purſue them, eſpecially ſince they and all the world have ſeen, how falſe & un-intended thoſe pretenſions were, which they firſt ſet forth, as the only plauſibl (though not juſtifiable) grounds of raiſing a War, and continuing it thus long againſt Me, and the Laws eſtabliſhed; in whoſe ſafety and preſervation all honeſt men think the welfare of their Countrey doth conſiſt.

For, and with all which, it is far more honourable and comfortable to ſuffer, then to proſper in their in and ſubverſion.

I have often prayed, that all on My ſide might joyn true piety with the ſenſe of their Loyalty; and be as faithfull to God and their owne ſoules, as they were to Me. That the defects of the one might not blaſt the endeavours of the other. Yet I cannot thinke, that any ſhews, or truth of piety on the other ſide were ſufficient to diſpence with, or expiate the defects of their Duty and Loyalty to Me, which have ſo pregnant convictions, on mens conſciences, that even profaner men are moved by the ſence of them to venture their lives for me.

I never had any victory which was without My ſorrow, becauſe it was on mine owne Subjects, who like Abſolom, died many of them in their

their ſin: And yet I never ſuffered any defeate, which made Me deſpair of Gods mercy and defence. I never deſired ſuch Victoryes, as might ſerve to conquer; but only reſtore the Laws and Libertyes of My People; which I ſaw were extreamly oppreſſed, together with my Rights by thoſe men, who were impatient of any juſt reſtraint.

When Providence gave me, or denyed Me Victory; My deſire was neither to boaſt of My power, nor to charge God fooliſhly; who I believed at laſt would make all things to work together for my good.

I wiſhed no greater advantages by the Warr, then to bring My Enemies to moderation, and my Freinds to peace.

I was afraid of the temptation of an abſolute conqueſt, and never prayed more for victory over others, than over my ſelf. When the firſt was denyed; the ſecond was granted me, which God ſaw beſt for Me. The different events were but the methods of divine juſtice, by contrary winds to winnow us: That, by puniſhing our ſinnes, he might purge them from us; & by deferring peace, he might prepare us more to priſe and better to uſe ſo great a bleſſing.

My often Meſſages for Peace ſhewed, that I delighted not in Warre: as my former Conceſſians ſufficiently teſtified, how willingly I would have prevented it; and My total unpreparedneſs for it, how little I intended it.

The

Conſcience of my Innocency forbade Me to feare a Warre; but the love of my Kingdomes commanded me (if poſſible) to avoid it.

I am guilty in this Warre of nothing, but this, That I gave ſuch advantages to ſome men, by confirming their power, which they knew not to uſe with that modeſty, and gratitude, which became their Loyalty and my confidence.

Had I yeilded leſſe, I had been oppoſed leſſe; had I denied more, I had been more obeyed.

'Tis now too late to review the occaſions of the Warre: I wiſh only a happy concluſion of ſo unhappy beginnings: The unevitable fate of our ſinnes was (no doubt) ſuch, as would no longer ſuffer the divine juſtice to be quiet: we having conquered his patience, are condemned by mutuall conquerings, to deſtroy one another: for, the moſt proſperous ſucceſſes on either ſide, impaire the welfare of the whole.

Thoſe Victories are ſtill miſerable, that leave our ſinnes un-ſubdued; fluſhing our pride, and animating to continue injuries.

Peace it ſelf is not deſirable, till repentance have prepared us for it.

When we fight more againſt our ſelves, and leſſe againſt God, we ſhall ceaſe fighting againſt one another; I pray God theſe may all

meet in our hearts, and ſo diſpoſe [illegible] all happy concluſion of theſe Civill Warres, that I may know better to obey God, and governe my People, and they may learn better to obey both God and me.

Nor do I deſire any man ſhould be further ſubject to me, then all of us may be ſubject to God.

O my God, make me content to be overcome, when thou wilt have it ſo.

Teach me the nobleſt victory over my ſelf, and my Enemies by patience; which was Chriſts conqueſt, and may well become a Chriſtian King.

Between both thy hands, the right ſomtimes ſupporting, and the left afflicting; faſhion us to that frame of piety thou likeſt beſt.

Forgive the pride that attends our proſperous, and the repinings which follow our diſaſterous events; when going forth in our own ſtrength, thou withdraweſt thine, and goeſt not forth with our Armies.

Be thou all, when we are ſomthing, and when we are nothing; that thou mayſt have the glory, when we are in a victorious, or inglorious condition.

Thou O Lord knoweſt, how hard it is for me to ſuffer ſo much evill from my Subjects, to whom I intend nothing but good; and I cannot but ſuffer in thoſe evills which they compell me to inflict upon them; puniſhing my ſelf in their puniſhments.

Since therefore both in conquering, and being conquered,

conquered, I am ſtill a Sufferer: I beſeech thee to give me a double portion of thy Spirit, and that meaſure of grace, which only can be ſufficient for me.

As I am moſt afflicted, ſo make me moſt reformed, that I may be not onely happy to ſee an end of theſe civill diſtractions, but a chief Inſtrument to reſtore and eſtabliſh a firm and bleſſed Peace to my Kingdoms.

Stir up in all Parties pious ambitions to overcome each other with reaſon, moderation, and ſuch ſelf-deniall, as becomes thoſe, who conſider, that our mutuall diviſions are our common diſtractions, and the union of all is every good mans chiefeſt intereſt.

If O Lord, as for the ſins of our peace, thou haſt brought upon us the miſeries of warre; ſo for the ſins of war thou ſhouldſt ſee fit ſtill to deny us the bleſſing of peace, and ſo to keep us in a circulation of miſeries; yet give me thy Servant, and all loyall, though afflicted Subjects, to enjoy that peace, which the world can neither give to us, nor take from us.

Impute not to me the blood of my Subjects, which, with infinite unwillingneſſe and grief, hath been ſhed by me, in my juſt and neceſſary defence, but waſh me with that precious blood, which hath been ſhed for me, by my great Peace-maker, Ieſus Chriſt who will, I truſt, redeem me ſhortly out of all my troubles: For, I know the triumphing of the Wicked is but ſhort, and the joy of Hypocrites is but for a moment.

20. *Upon the Reformations of the Times.*

NO Glory is more to be envied than that, of due Reforming either Church or State, when deformities are ſuch, that the perturbation and novelty are not like to exceed the benefit of Reforming.

Although God ſhould not honour me ſo far, as to make me an Inſtrument of ſo good a work, yet I ſhould be glad to ſee it done.

As I was well pleaſed with this Parliaments firſt intentions to reforme what the iudulgence of Times, and corruption of manners might have depraved; ſo I am ſorry to ſee, after the freedome of Parliament was by factious Tumults oppreſſed, how little regard was had to the good Lawes eſtabliſhed, and the Religion ſetled, which ought to be the firſt rule and ſtandard of reforming; with how much partiality, and popular compliance the paſſions, and opinions of men have been gratified, to the detriment of the publique, and the infinite ſcandall of the Reformed Religion.

What diſſolutions of all Order, and Government, in the Church: what novelties of Schiſmes, and corrupt opinions; what undecencies and confuſions in ſacred admin ſtrations;

tions; what ſacrilegious invaſions upon the Rights and Revenues of the Church; what contempt and oppreſſions of the Clergie; what injurious diminutions and perſecutings of me, have followed (as ſhowres do warme gleames) the talk of Reformation, all ſober men are Witneſſes, and, with my ſelfe, ſad Spectators hitherto.

The great miſcarriage I think is, that popular clamours and fury, have been allowed the reputation of Zeal, and the publique ſenſe; ſo that the ſtudy to pleaſe ſome Parties hath indeed injured all.

Freedome, moderation, and impartiality are ſure the beſt tempers of reforming Councells, and endeavours: what is acted by Factions, cannot but offend more, than it pleaſeth.

I have offered to put all differences in Church affaires and Religion to the free conſultation of a Synod or Convocation rightly choſen; the reſults of whoſe Counſells as they would have included the Votes of all, ſo it's like they would have given moſt ſatisfaction to all.

The Aſſembly of Divines, whom the two Houſes have applied (in an unwonted way) to adviſe of Church Affaires, I diſlike not further, then that they are not legally convened and choſen; nor Act in the name of all the Clergy of *England*; nor with freedome and impartiality can doe any thing, being limited

and confined, if not over-awed, to do and declare what they do.

For I cannot think ſo many men cryed up for learning and piety, who formerly allowed the Liturgy and Government of the Church of *England*, as to the maine, would have ſo ſuddenly agreed quite to aboliſh both of them, (the laſt of which, they knew to be of Apoſtolicall inſtitution, at leaſt, as of Primitive and Univerſall practice) if they had been left to the liberty of their own ſuffrages, and if the influence of contrary Factions had not, by ſecret incroachments of hopes, and feares, prevailed upon them, to comply with ſo great and dangerous Innovations in the Church; without any regard to their own former judgement and practice, or to the common intereſt and honour of all the Clergy, and in them of Order, Learning, and Religion againſt examples of all Ancient Churches; the Lawes in force, and my conſent; which is never to be gained againſt ſo pregnant light, as in that point ſhines on my underſtanding.

For I conceive, that, where the Scripture is not ſo clear and punctuall in precepts, there the conſtant and Univerſall practice of the Church, in things not contrary to Reaſon, Faith, good Manners, or any poſitive Command, is the beſt Rule that Chriſtians can follow.

I was willing to grant, or reſtore to Preſbytery,

bytery, what with reaſon or diſcretion it can pretend to, in a conjuncture with Epiſcopacy; but for that wholly to invade the Power, and by the Sword to arrogate, and quite abrogate the Authority of that Ancient Order, I think neither juſt, as to Epiſcopacy, nor ſafe for Preſbytery; nor yet any way convenient for this Church or State.

A due reformation had eaſily followed moderate Counſells; and (ſuch I believe) as would have given more content, even to the moſt of thoſe Divines, who have been led on with much Gravity and Formality, to carry on other mens deſignes: which, no doubt, many of them by this time diſcover, though they dare not but ſmother their fruſtrations, and diſcontents.

The ſpecious and popular titles, of Chriſts Government; Throne, Scepter, and Kingdome (which certainly is not divided, nor hath two faces, as their Parties now have, at leaſt) alſo the noiſe of a through Reformation, theſe may as eaſily be fixed on new modells, as faire colours may be put to ill-favoured figures.

The breaking of Church-windowes, which Time had ſufficiently defaced; pulling downe of Croſſes, which were but civill, not Religious marks; defacing of the Monuments, and Inſcriptions of the Dead, which ſerved but to put Poſterity in mind, to thank God, for that

clearer light, wherein they live; The leaving of all Miniſters to their liberties, and private abilities, in the Publike ſervice of God, where no Chriſtian can tell to what he may ſay *Amen*; nor what adventure he may make, of ſeeming, at leaſt, to conſent to the Errours, Blaſphemies, and ridiculous Undecencies, which bold and ignorant men liſt to vent in their Prayers, Preaching, and other offices; The ſetting forth alſo of old Catechiſmes, and Confeſſions of Faith new dreſt, importing as much, as if there had been no ſound or cleare Doctrine of Faith in this Church, before ſome foure or five yeares conſultation had matured their thoughts, touching their firſt Principles of Religion.

All theſe, and the like, are the effects of popular, ſpecious, and deceitfull Reformations, (that they might not ſeem to have nothing to doe) and may give ſome ſhort flaſhes of content to the Vulgar, (who are taken with novelties, as Children with Babies, very much, but not very long) But all this amounts not to, nor can in Juſtice merit the glory of the Churches thorow Reformation; ſince they leave all things more deformed, diſorderly, and diſcontented, then when they began in point of Piety, Morality, Charity, and good Order.

Nor can they eaſily recompenſe or remedy the inconveniences and miſchiefs, which they have

have purchaſed ſo dearly, and which have, and ever will neceſſarily enſue, till due remedies be applied.

I wiſh they would, at laſt, make it their Unanimous work, to doe Gods work, and not their owne: Had Religion been firſt conſidered (as it merited) much trouble might have been prevented.

But ſome men thought, that the Government of this Church and State, fixed by ſo many Lawes, and long Cuſtomes, would not run into their new moulds, till they had firſt melted it in the fire of a Civill Warre; by the advantages of which they reſolved, if they prevailed, to make my ſelfe and all my Subjects fall down, and worſhip the Images they ſhould forme and ſet up: If there had been as much of Chriſts Spirit, for meekneſſe, wiſdome, and charity, in mens hearts, as there was of his Name uſed in the pretenſions, to reforme all to Chriſts Rule, it would certainly have obtained more of Gods bleſſing, and produced more of Chriſts Glory, the Churches good, the Honour of Religion, and the Unity of Chriſtians.

Publique Reformers had need firſt Act in private, and practice that on their owne hearts, which they purpoſe to trie on others; for Deformities within, will ſoon betray the pretenders of publike Reformations, to ſuch private deſigns as muſt needs hinder the publike good.

I am ſure the right Methods of Reforming the Church cannot conſiſt with that of perturbing the Civill State; nor can Religion be juſtly advanced by depreſſing Loyalty, which is one of the chiefeſt Ingredients, and Ornaments of true Religion; for, next to *fear God*, is, *Honour the King*.

I doubt not but Chriſts Kingdome may be ſet up without pulling downe Mine; nor will any men in impartiall times appear good Chriſtians, that approve not themſelves good Subjects.

Chriſts Government will confirm Mine, not overthrow it; ſince as I own mine from him, ſo I deſire to rule for his Glory, and his Churches good.

Had ſome men truly intended Chriſt's Government, or knew what it meant in their hearts, they could never have been ſo ill-governed in in their words, and actions, both againſt me and one another.

As good ends cannot juſtifie evill meanes, ſo nor will evill beginnings ever bring forth good concluſions; unleſſe God, by a miracle of Mercy, create Light out of Darkneſſe, order out of our confuſions, and peace out of our paſſions.

Thou, O Lord, who onely canſt give us beauty for aſhes, and Truth for Hypocriſie; ſuffer us not to be miſerably deluded with Phariſaicall waſh-

ings,

ings; and of Chriſtian reformings.

Our greateſt deformities are within, make us the ſevereſt Cenſurers, and firſt Reformers of our own ſoules.

That we may in clearneſſe of judgment, and uprightneſſe of heart be means to reform what is indeed amiſſe in Church and State.

Create in us clean hearts, O Lord, and renew right ſpirits within us; that we may do all by thy directions, to thy glory, and with thy bleſſing.

Pity the deformities, which ſome raſh and cruell Reformers have brought upon this Church and State: Quench the fires which Factions have kindled, under the pretence of Reforming.

As thou haſt ſhewed the world by their diviſions and confuſions what is the pravity of ſome mens intentions, and weakneſſe of their judgments, ſo bring us at laſt more refined out of theſe fires by the methods of Chriſtian and charitable Reformations, wherein nothing of ambition, revenge, coveteuſneſſe, or ſcriledge, may have any influence upon their counſells, whom thy providence in juſt and lawfull wayes ſhall entruſt with ſo great, good, and now moſt neceſſary work: that I and my People may be ſo bleſt with inward piety, as may beſt teach us how to uſe the bleſſing of outward peace.

21. *Vpon*

21. *Upon his Majesties Letters taken and divulged.*

THe taking of my Letters was an opportunity, which as the malice of mine enemies could hardly have expected; so they knew not how with honour and civility to use it; Nor doe I think, with sober and worthy minds, any thing in them could tend so much to my reproach, as the odious divulging of them did to the infamy of the Divulgers: the greatest experiments of vertue and noblenesse being discovered in the greatest advantages against an enemy, and the greatest obligations being those, which are put upon us by them, from whom we could least have expected them.

And such I should have esteemed the concealing of My Papers; The freedome and secresie of which, commands a civility from all men, not wholly barbarous; nor is there any thing more inhumane than to expose them to publique view.

Yet since providence will have it so, I am content so much of My heart (which I study to approve to Gods omniscience) should be discovered to the world, without any of those dresses, or popular captations, which some men

mens minds in their Speeches, and Expreſſes; I wiſh my Subjects had yet a clearer ſight into my moſt retired thoughts.

Where they might diſcover, how they are divided between the love and care I have, not more to preſerve my owne Rights, than to procure their peace and happineſſe, and that extreme griefe to ſee them both deceived and deſtroyed.

Nor can any mens malice be gratified further by my Letters, than to ſee my conſtancie to my VVife, the Lawes, and Religion. Bees will gather Honey where the Spider ſucks Poiſon.

That I endeavour to avoid the preſſures of my Enemies, by all fair and juſt correſpondencies, no man can blame, who loves me, or the Common-wealth; ſince my Subjects can hardly be happy if I be miſerable, or enjoy their peace and liberties while I am oppreſſed.

The world may ſee how ſoon mens deſigne, like *Abſoloms*, is by enormous actions to widen differences, and exaſperate all ſides to ſuch diſtances, as may make all reconciliation deſperate.

Yet I thank God I can not only with patience bear this, as other indignities: but with Charity forgive them.

The integrity of my intentions is not jealous of any injury, My expreſſions can doe them; for

for although the confidence of privacy may admit greater freedome in writing ſuch Letters, which may be liable to envious exceptions; yet the Innocency of my chief purpoſes cannot be ſo obtained, or miſ-interpreted by them, as not to let all men ſee, that I wiſh nothing more than an happy compoſure of differences with Juſtice and Honour, not more to my own, then my Peoples content, who have any ſparks of Love or Loyalty left in them: who, by thoſe my Letters may be convinced, that I can both mind and act my owne, and My Kingdomes Affaires, ſo as becomes a Prince; which mine enemies have alwaies been very loath ſhould be believed of me, as if I were wholly confined to the Dictates and Directions of others; whom they pleaſe to brand with the names of Evill Counſellours.

It's probable ſome men will now look upon me as my owne Counſellour, and having none elſe to quarrell with under that notion, they will hereafter confine their anger to my ſelfe: Although I know they are very unwilling I ſhould enjoy the liberty of my own Thoughts, or follow the light of my owne Conſcience, which they labour to bring into an abſolute captivity to themſelves; not allowing me to think their Counſells to be other then good for me, which have ſo long maintained a Warre againſt me.

The

This Victory they obtained that day, when my Letters became their prize, had been enough to have ſatiated the moſt ambitious thirſt of popular glory among the Vulgar; with whom proſperity gaines the greateſt eſteem and applauſe, as adverſity expoſeth to their greateſt ſlighting and diſ-reſpect: As if good fortune were alwaies the ſhadow of Vertue and Juſtice, and did not oftner attend vitious and injurious actions, as to this world.

But I ſee no ſecular advantages ſeem ſufficient to that cauſe, which began with Tumults, and depends chiefly upon the reputation with the Vulgar.

They think no Victories ſo effectuall to their deſignes as thoſe: that moſt rout and waſte my Credit with my People; in whoſe hearts they ſeek by all meanes to ſmother and extinguiſh all ſparks of Love, Reſpect and Loyalty to me, that they may never kindle againe, ſo as to recover mine, the Lawes, and the Kingdomes Liberties, which ſome men ſeek to overthrow: The taking away of my Credit is but a neceſſary preparation to the taking away of my life, and my Kingdomes; Firſt I muſt ſeem neither fit to live, nor worthy to Reigne; By exquiſite methods of cunning and cruelty, I muſt be compelled, firſt to follow the Funeralls of my Honour, and then be deſtroyed: But I know Gods un-erring and impartiall juſtice can, and will overrule

rule the moſt perverſe wills and deſignes of men; He is able, and (I hope) will turn even the worſt of mine enemies thoughts and actions to my good.

Nor doe I think, that by the ſurprize of my Letters, I have loſt any more than ſo many Papers: How much they have loſt of that reputation, for Civility and Humanity which ought to be pay'd to all men, and moſt becomes ſuch as pretend to Religion) beſides that of reſpect and Honour, which they owe to their KING, preſent, and after-times will judge. And I cannot think that their owne conſciences are ſo ſtupid, as not to inflict upon them ſome ſecret impreſſions of that ſhame and diſhonour, which attends all unworthy actions, have they never ſo much of publique flattery, and popular countenance.

I am ſure they can never expect the divine approbation of ſuch indecent actions, if they doe but remember how God bleſt the modeſt reſpect and filiall tenderneſſe, which *Noahs* Sons bare to their Father; nor did his open infirmity juſtifie *Chams* impudency, or exempt him from that curſe of being *Servant of Servants*; which curſe muſt needs be on them who ſeek by diſhonourable actions to pleaſe the Vulgar; and confirme, by ignoble acts, their dependance upon the People.

Nor can their malicious intentions be ever either excuſable, or proſperous, who thought by

by this meanes to expoſe me to the higheſt reproach and contempt of My People; forgetting that duty of modeſt concealment, which they owed to the Father of their Country, in caſe they had diſcovered any reall uncomelineſſe; which, I thank God, they did not; who can, and, I believe, hath made me more reſpected in the hearts of many (as he did *David*) to whom they thought, by publiſhing my private Letters, to have rendred me as a vile Perſon, not fit to be truſted or conſidered, under any notion of Majeſty.

But thou, ô Lord, whoſe wiſe and all-diſpoſing providence, ordereth the greateſt contingences of humane affairs; make me to ſee the conſtancy of thy mercies to me, in the greateſt advantages thou ſeemeſt to give the malice of my Enemies againſt me.

As thou didſt blaſt the counſell of Achitophel, *turning it to* Davids *good, and his own ruine; ſo ſo canſt thou defeat their deſigne, who intended, by publiſhing my private Letters, nothing elſe, but to render me more odious & contemptible to my People.*

I muſt firſt appeale to thy Omniſcience, who canſt witneſſe with my integrity, how unjuſt and falſe thoſe ſcandalous miſconſtructions are, which my Enemies endeavour by thoſe Papers of mine to repreſent to the world.

Make the evill they imagined, and diſpleaſure they intended thereby againſt me, ſo to returne on their owne heads, that they may be a-

ſhamed, and covered with their owne confuſion, as with a cloake.

Thou ſeeſt how mine Enemies uſe all meanes to cloud mine Honor, to pervert my purpoſes, and to ſlander the footſteps of thine Annointed.

But give me an heart content to be diſhonoured for thy ſake, and thy Churches good.

Fix in me a purpoſe to honour thee, and then I know thou wilt honour me, either by reſtoring to me the injoyment of that Power and Majeſty, which thou haſt ſuffered ſome men to ſeeke to deprive me of, or by beſtowing on me that crowne of Chriſtian patience, which knowes how to ſerve thee in honour, or diſhonour, in good report or evill.

Thou, O Lord, art the fountain of goodneſſe, and honour; thou art colathed with excellent Majeſty; make me to partake of thy excellency for wiſdome, juſtice, and mercy, and I ſhall not want that degree of Honour and Majeſty, which becomes the Place in which thou haſt ſet me; who art the lifter up of my head and my ſalvation.

Lord, by thy grace, lead me to thy Glory, which is both true and eternall.

22. *Upon His Majeſties leaving* Oxford, *and going to the* Scots.

ALthough God hath given Me three Kingdomes, yet in theſe he hath not now left me any place, where I may with Safety

Safety and Honour rest my Head: Shewing me that himselfe is the safest Refuge, and the strongest Tower of defence, in which I may put my Trust.

In these extremities, I look not to man so much as to God; He will have it thus; that I may wholly cast my self, and my now distressed affaires upon his mercy, who hath both hearts and hands of all men in his dispose.

What providence denies to Force, it may grant to Prudence: Necessity is now my Counsellour, and commands me to study my safety by a disguised withdrawing from my chiefest strength, and adventuring upon their Loyalty, who first began my Troubles. Happily God may make them a means honourably to compose them.

This my confidence of Them, may dis-arme and overcome them; my rendring my Person to them, may engage their affections to me, who have oft professed, *They fought not against me, but for me.*

I must now resolve the riddle of their Loyalty; and give them opportunity to let the world see, they mean not what they do, but what they say.

Yet must God be my chiefest Guard; and My Conscience both My Counsellour and My Comforter: Though I put my Body into their hands, yet I shall reserve my Soule to God, and my selfe; nor shall any necessity

compell me, to desert mine Honour, or swerve from my Judgement.

What they sought to take by force, shall now be given them in such a way of unusuall confidence of them, as may make them ashamed not to be really such, as they ought, and professed to be.

God sees it not enough to deprive me of all Military power to defend my self; but to put me upon using their power, who seem to fight against me, yet ought in duty to defend me.

So various are all humane affaires, and so necessitous may the state of Princes be, that their greatest danger may be in their supposed safety, and their safety in their supposed danger.

I must now leave those, that have adhered to me, and apply to those that have opposed me; this method of Peace may be more prosperous, than that of Warre, both to stop the effusion of bloud, and to close those wounds already made: and in it I am no lesse solicitous for My Friends safety, than mine owne; chusing to venture my selfe upon further hazards, rather then expose their resolute Loyalty to all extremities.

It is some skill in play to know when a game is lost; better fairly to give over, than to contest in vaine.

I must now study to re-inforce my judgement, and fortifie my mind with Reason and Religion;

Religion; that I may not ſeem to offer up my Soules liberty, or make my Conſcience their Captive; who ought at firſt to have uſed arguments, not Armes, to have perſwaded my conſent to their new demands.

I thank God, no ſucceſſe darkens or diſguiſes Truth to me; and I ſhall no leſſe conforme my words to my inward dictates now, than if they had been as the words of a KING ought to be among loyall Subjects, *full of power.*

Reaſon is the divineſt power. I ſhall never think my ſelfe weakned while I may make full and free uſe of that. No eclipſe of outward fortune ſhall rob me of that light; what God hath denied of outward ſtrength, his grace, I hope, will ſupply with inward reſolutions; not moroſely to deny, what is fit to be granted; but not to grant any thing, which Reaſon and Religion bids me deny.

I ſhall never think my ſelf, leſſe than my ſelf, while I am able thus to preſerve the Integrity of my Conſcience, the onely Jewell now left me, which is worth keeping.

O thou Soveraigne of our Soules, the onely Commander of our Conſciences; though I know not what to do, yet mine eyes are toward thee: To the protection of thy mercy I ſtill commend my ſelf.

As thou haſt preſerved me in the day of Battaile, ſo thou canſt ſtill ſhew me thy ſtrength in my weakneſſe.

Be thou unto me in my dvrkeſt night, a pillar of fire, to enlighten and direct me; in the day of my hotteſt affliction, be alſo a pillar of cloud to overſhadow and protect me; be to me, both a Sun and a Shield.

Thou knoweſt, that it is not any perverſeneſſe of will, but juſt perſwaſions of Honor, Reaſon, and Religion, which have made me thus far to hazard my Perſon, Peace, and Safety, againſt thoſe, that by force have ſought to wreſt them from Mee.

Suffer not my juſt reſolutions to abate with my outward Forces; let a good conſcience alwayes accompany me, in my ſolitude and deſertions.

Suffer me not to betray the powers of Reaſon, and that fortreſſe of my ſoule, which I am intruſted to keep for thee.

Lead me in the paths of thy righteouſneſſe, and ſhew me thy ſalvation.

Make my wayes to pleaſe thee, and then thou wilt make mine Enemies to be at peace with me.

23. *Vpon*

23. *Upon the* Scots *delivering the* KING *to the* Engliſh; *and his Captivity at* Holmeby.

YEt may I juſtifie thoſe *Scots* to all the world in this, that they have not deceived me; for I never truſted to them further, than to men: If I am ſold by them, I am onely ſorry they ſhould doe it; and that my price ſhould be ſo much above my Saviours.

Theſe are but further Eſſaies, which God will have me make of mans uncertainty, the more to fix me on himſelfe; who never faileth them that truſt in him; Though the Reeds of *Ægypt* break under the hand of him that leanes on them, yet the Rock of *Iſrael* will be an everlaſting ſtay and defence.

Gods providence commands me to retire from all to himſelf, that in him I may enjoy my ſelfe, which I loſe, while I let out my hopes to others.

The ſolitude and captivity, to which I am now reduced, gives me leiſure enough to ſtudy the worlds vanity, and inconſtancy

God ſees 'tis fit to deprive me of Wife, Children, Army, Friends, and Freedom, that I may be wholly his, who alone is all.

I care not much to be reckoned among the Unfortunate, if I be not in the black Liſt of irreligious, and ſacrilegious Princes.

No Reſtraint ſhall enſnare my ſoul in ſinne, nor gaine that of me, which may make my Enemies more inſolent, my Friends aſhamed, or my Name accurſed.

They have no great cauſe to triumph, that they have got my Perſon into their power; ſince my Soule is ſtill my owne: nor ſhall they ever gaine my Conſent againſt my Conſcience.

What they call obſtinacy, I know God accounts honeſt conſtancy; from which Reaſon and Religion, as well as Honour, forbid me to recede.

'Tis evident now, that it was not evill Counſellours with me, but a good Conſcience in me, which hath been fought againſt; nor did they ever intend to bring mee to my Parliament, till they had brought my mind to their obedience.

Should I grant what ſome men deſire, I ſhould be ſuch as they wiſh me, not more a King, and far leſſe both Man and Chriſtian.

What Tumults and Armies could not obtain, neither ſhall Reſtraint: which though it have as little of ſafety to a Prince, yet it hath not more of danger.

The feare of men ſhall never be my ſnare; nor ſhall the love of any liberty entangle my ſoule:

ſoule; Better others betray me than my ſelfe; and that the price of my liberty ſhould be my Conſcience: the greateſt injuries my Enemies ſeek to inflict upon me, cannot be without my own conſent.

While I can deny with Reaſon, I ſhall defeat the greateſt impreſſions of their malice, who neither know how to uſe worthily, what I have already granted; nor what to require more of me but this, That I would ſeem willing to help them to deſtroy my ſelfe and mine.

Although they ſhould deſtroy me, yet they ſhall have no cauſe to deſpiſe me.

Neither liberty nor life are ſo dear to me, as the peace of my Conſcience, the Honour of my Crownes; and the welfare of my People; which my word may injure more than any Warre can doe; while I gratifie a few to oppreſſe all.

The Lawes will, by Gods bleſſing, revive, with the love and Loyalty of my Subjects; if I bury them not by my Conſent, and cover them in that grave of diſhonour and injuſtice, which ſome mens violence hath digged for them.

If my Captivity or Death muſt be the price of their redemption, I grudge not to pay it.

No condition can make a King miſerable, which carries not with it, his Souls, his Peoples and Poſterities thraldome.

After-times may ſee, what the blindneſſe of this

this Age will not; and God may at length ſhew my Subjects, that I chuſe rather to ſuffer for them, than with them; happily, I might redeem my ſelf to ſome ſhew of liberty, if I would conſent to enſlave them: I had rather hazard the ruine of one King, than to confirm many Tyrants over them; from whom I pray God deliver them, what ever becomes of me, whoſe ſolitude hath not left me alone.

For thou O God, infinitely good, and great, art with me, whoſe preſence is better than life; and whoſe ſervice is perfect freedome.

Own me for thy ſervant, and I ſhall never have cauſe to complain for want of that liberty, which becomes a Man, a Chriſtian, and a King.

Bleſſe me ſtill with Reaſon as a Man; with Religion, as a Chriſtian; and with conſtancy in juſtice, as a King.

Though thou ſuffereſt me to be ſtript of all outward ornaments, yet preſerve me ever in thoſe enjoyments, wherein I may injoy thy ſelf; and which cannot be taken from me againſt my will.

Let no fire of affliction boile over my paſſion to any impatience, or ſordid fears.

There be many ſay of me, There is no help for me: doe thou lift up the light of thy countenance upon me, and I ſhall neither want ſafety, liberty, nor majeſty.

Give me that meaſure of patience and conſtancy, which my condition now requires.

My

My ſtrength is ſcattered, my expectation from men defeated, my Perſon reſtrained; ô be not thou far from me, leſt my Enemies prevaile too much againſt me.

I am become a wonder and a ſcorne to many: ô be thou my Helper and Defender.

Shew ſome token upon me for good, that they that hate me may be aſhamed, becauſe thou Lord haſt holpen and comforted me: eſtabliſh me with thy free Spirit, that I may do, and ſuffer thy will, as thou wouldſt have me.

Be mercifull to me, ô Lord, for my ſoule truſteth in thee: yea and in the ſhadow of thy wings will I make my refuge untill theſe calamities be overpaſt.

Ariſe to deliver me, make no long tarrying, ô my God. Though thou killeſt me, yet will I truſt in thy mercy, and my Saviours merit.

I know that my Redeemer liveth; though thou leadeſt me through the vale and ſhadow of death, yet ſhall I fear none ill.

24. *Vpon their denying His Majeſty the Attendance of His Chaplaines.*

WHen Providence was pleaſed to deprive Me of all other Civill comforts and ſecular Attendants, I thought the

the abſcence of them all might beſt be ſupplied by the attendance of ſome of my Chaplains; whom for their Function I reverence, and for their Fidelity I have cauſe to love. By their learning, piety, and prayers, I hoped to be either better enabled to ſuſtaine the want of all other enjoyments, or better fitted for the recovery and uſe of them in Gods good time: ſo reaping by their pious help a ſpirituall harveſt of grace amidſt the thornes, and after the plowings of temporall croſſes.

The truth is, I never needed or deſired more the ſervice and aſſiſtance of men judiciouſly pious, and ſoberly devout.

The ſolitude they have confined me unto, adds the Wilderneſſe to my temptations; for, the company they obtrude upon me, is more ſad than any ſolitude can be.

If I had asked my Revenues, my Power of the *Militia*, or any one of my Kingdomes, it had been no wonder to have been denied in thoſe things, where the evill policy of men forbids all juſt reſtitution, leſt they ſhould confeſſe an injurious uſurpation: But to deny me the Ghoſtly comfort of my Chaplaines, ſeemes a greater rigour and barbarity, then is ever uſed by Chriſtians to the meaneſt Priſoners, and greateſt Malefactors; whom though the juſtice of the Law deprive of worldly comforts, yet the mercy of Religion allows them the benefit of their Clergy; as not aiming at

once

once to deſtroy their Bodies, and to damn their Soules.

But my Agony muſt not be relieved with the preſence of any one good Angell; for ſuch I account a Learned, Godly, and diſcreet Divine: and ſuch I would have all Mine to be.

They that envy my being a King, are loath I ſhould be a Chriſtian; while they ſeek to deprive me of all things elſe, They are afraid I ſhould ſave my ſoule.

Other ſenſe Charity it ſelfe can hardly pick out of thoſe many harſh Repulſes I received, as to that requeſt ſo often made for the attendance of ſome of my Chaplaines.

I have ſometime thought the Unchriſtianneſſe of thoſe denialls might ariſe from a diſpleaſure ſome men had to ſee me prefer my own Divines before their Miniſters: whom though I reſpect for that worth and piety which may be in them; yet I cannot think them ſo proper for any preſent Comforters or Phyſitians; who have (ſome of them at leaſt) had ſo great an influence in occaſioning theſe calamities, and inflicting theſe wounds upon me.

Nor are the ſobereſt of them ſo apt for that devotionall compliance, and juncture of hearts, which I deſire to bear in thoſe holy Offices, to be performed with me, and for me; ſince their judgements ſtanding at a diſtance from me, or in jealouſie of me, or in oppoſition againſt

gainſt me, their Spirits cannot ſo harmoniouſly accord with mine, or mine with theirs, either in Prayer, or other holy duties, as is meet, and moſt comfortable, whoſe golden Rule, and bond of Perfection conſiſts in that of mutuall Love and Charity.

Some remedies are worſe then the diſeaſe, and ſome Comforters more miſerable then miſery it ſelfe; when, like *Jobs* friends, they ſeek not to fortifie ones mind with patience; but perſwade a man, by betraying his own Innocency, to deſpair of Gods mercy; and, by juſtifying their injuries, to ſtrengthen the hands, and harden the hearts of inſolent Enemies.

I am ſo much a friend to all Church-men, that have any thing in them beſeeming that ſacred Function, that I have hazarded My owne Intereſts, chiefly upon Conſcience and Conſtancy to maintaine their Rights; whom the more I looked upon as Orphans, and under the ſacrilegious eyes of many cruell and rapacious Reformers; ſo I thought it my duty the more to appeare as a Father, and a Patron for them and the Church. Although I am very unhandſomly requited by ſome of them; who may live to repent no leſſe for my ſufferings, than their owne ungratefull errours, and that injurious contempt and meanneſſe, which they have brought upon their Calling and Perſons.

I pity all of them, I deſpiſe none: onely I thought

thought I might have leave to make choice of ſome for my ſpeciall Attendants, who were beſt approved in my judgement, and moſt ſutable to my affection. For, I held it better to ſeem undevout, and to heare no mens prayers, than to be forced, or ſeem to comply with thoſe Petitions, to which the heart cannot conſent, nor the tongue ſay *Amen*, without contradicting a mans own underſtanding, or belying his own ſoule.

In Devotions, I love neither profane boldneſſe, nor pious non-ſenſe; but ſuch an humble and judicious gravity, as ſhewes the Speaker to be at once conſiderate of Gods Majeſty, the Churches honour, and his owne Vileneſſe; both knowing what things God allows him to ask, and in what manner it becomes a Sinner to ſupplicate the divine Mercy for himſelf, and others.

I am equally ſcandalized with all prayers, that ſound either imperiouſly, or rudely, and paſſionately; as either wanting humility to God, or charity to men, or reſpect to the duty.

I confeſſe I am better pleaſed, as with ſtudied and premeditated Sermons, ſo with ſuch publique Formes of Prayers, as are fitted to the Churches and every Chriſtians daily and common neceſſities; becauſe I am by them better aſſured, what I may joyne my heart unto, than I can be of any mans extemporary ſufficiency; which as I doe not wholly exclude from publique

publique occaſions, ſo I allow its juſt liberty and uſe in private and devout retirements; where neither the ſolemnity of the duty, nor the modeſt regard to others, doe require ſo great exactneſſe as to the outward manner of performance. Though the light of underſtanding, and the fervency of affection, I hold the maine and moſt neceſſary requiſites both in conſtant, and occaſionall, ſolitary, and ſociall Devotions.

So that I muſt needs ſeem to all equall minds with as much Reaſon to prefer the ſervice of my own Chaplains before that of their Miniſters, as I do the Liturgy before their Directory.

In the one, I have been alwaies educated and exerciſed; In the other, I am not yet Catechized, nor acquainted; And if I were, yet ſhould I not by that, as by any certaine rule and Canon of devotion be able to follow or find out the indirect extravagances of moſt of thoſe men, who highly cry up that as a piece of rare compoſure and uſe; which is already as much deſpiſed and diſuſed by many of them, as the Common-Prayer ſometimes was by thoſe men; a great part of whoſe piety hung upon that popular pin of railing againſt, and contemning the Government, and Liturgy of this Church. But, I had rather be condemned to the woe of *Væ ſoli*, than to that of *Væ vobis Hypocritis*, by ſeeming to pray what I do not approve.

It

It may be, I am esteemed by my Denyers sufficient of My self to discharge My duty to God as a Priest, though not to Men as a Prince.

Indeed, I think both Offices, Regall and Sacerdotall, might will become the same Person; as anciently they were under one name, and the united rights of primogeniture: Nor could I follow better presidents, if I were able, than those two eminent Kings, David, and Solomon; not more famous for their Scepters and Crownes, than one was for devout Psalmes and Prayers; the other for his divine Parables and Preaching: whence one merited and assumed the name of a Prophet, the other of a Preacher. Titles indeed of greater Honour, where rightly placed, than any of those the Roman Emperours affected from the Nations they subdued: it being infinitely more glorious to convert Souls to Gods Church by the Word, than to conquer men to a subjection by the Sword.

Yet since the order of Gods wisdome & providence hath, for the most part, alwayes distinguished the gifts and offices of Kings, of Priests, of Princes and Preachers; both in the Jewish & Christian Churches; I am sorry to find My self reduced to the necessity of being both, or enjoying neither.

For such as seek to deprive Me of Kinglypower and Soveraignty, would no lesse enforce Me to live many Months without all Prayers, Sacraments, and Sermons, unlesse I become My owne Chaplain.

As I owe the Clergy the protection of a Christian KING, so I desire to enjoy from them the benefit of their gifts and prayers; which I looke upon as more prevalent than My own, or other mens, by how much they flow from minds more enlightned, & affections lesse distracted, than those which are uncombred with secular affairs besides, I think a greater blessing and acceptableness attends those duties, which are rightly performed, as proper to, & within the limits of that calling to which God and the Church have specially designed and consecrated some men: and however, as to that Spirituall Government, by which the devout Soul is subject to Christ, and through his merits daily offers it self and its services to God, every private believer is a King & Preist, invested with the honour of a Royall Priesthood; yet, as to Ecclesiasticall order, and the outward polity of the Church, I think confusion in Religion will as certainly follow every mans turning Priest or Preacher, as it will in the State, where every one affects to rule as King.

I was always bred to more modest, and I think, more pious principles: the consciousness to My Spirituall defects makes me more prize & desire those pious assistances, which holy and good Ministers, either Bishops or Presbyters, may afford Me; especially in these extremities, to wch God hath bin pleased to suffer some of my Subjects to reduce me: so as to leave them

them nothing more, but My life to take from me, and to leave me nothing to desire, which I thought might lesse provoke their jealousie and offence to deny Me, than this of having some means afforded Me for My Soules comfort and support.

To which end I made choice of men, as no way (that I know) scandalous, so every way eminent for their learning and piety, no lesse than for their Loyalty: nor can I imagine any exceptions to be made against them, but only this, that they may seem too able and too wel affected toward me and My service.

But this is not the first service (as I count it the best) in which they have forced Me to serve My self, though I must confesse I bear with more greif and impatience the want of My Chaplains, than of any other My Servants; and next (if not beyond in some things) to the being sequestred from my Wife and Children; since from these indeed more of humane and temporary affections, but from those more of heavenly and eternall improvements may be expected.

My comfort is, that, in the inforced (not neglected) want of ordinary means, God is wont to afford extraordinary supplies of his gifts and graces.

If his Spirit will teach me & help My infirmities in prayer, reading and meditation (as I hope he will) I shall need no other, either Orator or Instructer.

To Thee therefore, O my God, doe I direct my now ſolitary prayers; what I want of others help, ſupply with the more immediate aſſiſtances of thy Spirit, which alone can both enlighten My darkneſſe, and quicken My dulneſſe.

O thou Sun of righteouſneſſe, thou ſacred Fountaine of heavenly light and heat, at once cleare and warme my heart, both by inſtructing of me, and interceding for me: In thee is all fulneſſe: from thee all-ſufficiency: By thee is all acceptance. Thou art company enough, and comfort enough: Thou art my King, be alſo my Prophet and my Prieſt. Rule me, teach me, pray in me, for me; and be thou ever with me.

The ſingle wreſtlings of Jacob *prevailed with thee, in that ſacred Duell, when he had none to ſecond him but thy ſelfe; who didſt aſſiſt him with power to overcome thee, & by a welcome violence to wreſt a bleſſing from thee.*

O look on me thy Servant, in infinite mercy, whom thou didſt once bleſſe with the joynt and ſociated Devotions of others, whoſe fervencie might inflame the coldneſſe of my affections towards thee; when we went to, or met in thy Houſe with the voice of Ioy and gladneſſe, worſhiping thee in the unity of ſpirits, and with bond of Peace.

O forgive the neglect, and not improving of thoſe happy opportunities.

It is now thy pleaſure that I ſhould be as a Pelican in the wilderneſſe, as a Sparrow on the Houſe top, and as a coale ſcattered from all thoſe pious

glowings

glowings, and devout reflections, which might beſt kindle, preſerve, and encreaſe the holy fire of thy graces on the Altar of my heart, whence the ſacrifice of prayers, and incenſe of praiſes, might be duly offered up to thee.

Yet O thou that breakeſt not the bruized Reed, nor quencheſt the ſmoaking Flax, do not deſpiſe the weakneſſe of my prayers, nor the ſmotherings of my ſoul in this uncomfortable loneneſſ; to which I am conſtrained by ſome mens uncharitable denialls of thoſe helps, which I much want, and no leſſe deſire. O let the hardnes of their hearts occaſion the ſoftnings of mine to thee, and for Them. Let their hatred kindle my love, let their unreaſonable denialls of my Religious deſires the more excite my prayers to thee. Let their inexorable deafneſſe encline thine eare to me; who art a God eaſie to be entreated; thine eare is not heavy, that it cannot, nor thy heart hard, that it will not heare; nor thy hand ſhortned, that it cannot help Me thy deſolate Suppliant.

Thou permitteſt men to deprive me of thoſe outward means, which thou haſt appointed in thy Church, but they cannot debarre me from the communion of that inward grace, which thou alone breatheſt into humble hearts.

O make me ſuch, and thou wilt teach me; thou wilt hear me, thou wilt help me: The broken and contrite heart I know thou wilt not deſpiſe.

Thou, O Lord canſt at once make me thy Temple, thy Prieſt, thy ſacrifice, and thine Altar; while

from an humble heart I (alone) daily offer up in holy meditations, fervent prayers, and unfeigned tears my ſelf to thee: who prepareſt me for thee, dwelleſt in me, aad acceptſt of me.

Thou, O Lord, didſt cauſe by ſecret ſupplyes & miraculous infuſions, that the handful of meal in the veſſell ſhould not ſpend, nor the little oyl in the cruiſe fail the Widow during the time of drought and dearth.

O look on my ſoul, which as a Widow is now deſolate and forſaken: let not thoſe ſaving truths I have formerly learned now fail my memory; nor the ſweet effuſions of thy Spirit, which I have ſometime felt, now be wanting to my heart in this famine of ordinary and wholſome food for the refreſhing of My Soul.

Which yet I had rather chuſe than to feed from thoſe hands who mingle my bread with aſhes, and my wine with gall; rather torme nting than teaching me; whoſe mouths are proner to bitter eeproaches of me, then to hearty prayers for me.

Thou knoweſt, O Lord of truth, how oft they wreſt thy holy Scriptures to my deſtruction, (which are clear for their ſubiection, and my preſervation) O let it not be to their damnation.

Thou knoweſt how ſome men (under colour of long prayrs) have ſought to devour the houſes of their Brethren, their King, and their God. O Let not thoſe mens balms break my head, nor their Cordialls oppreſſe my heart, I will evermore pray againſt their wickedneſſe.

From

From the poyſon under their tongues, from the ſnares of their lips, from the fire, and the ſwords of their words ever deliver Me, O Lord and all thoſe Loyall and Religious hearts, who deſire and delight in the proſperity of my ſoule, and who ſeek by their prayers to relieve this ſadneſſe and ſolitude of thy ſervant, O my King and my God.

---

25. Penitentiall Meditations and Vowes in the *Kings* ſolitude at *Holmeby*.

GIve eare to my words O Lord, conſider my Meditations, aud hearken to the voice of my cry, my King and my God, for unto thee will I pray.

I ſaid in my haſt I am caſt out of the ſight of thine eyes; nevertheleſſe thou beareſt the voice of my ſupplication, when I cry unto thee.

If thou Lord ſhouldſt be extream to mark what is don amiſſe, who can abide it? But there is mercy with thee, that thou mayeſt be feared; therefore ſhall ſinners fly unto thee.

I acknowledge my ſins before thee which have the aggravation of my condition; the eminency of my place adding weight to my offence.

Forgive, I beſeech thee, my Perſonall, and my Peoples ſinnes; which are ſo far mine, as I have not improved the power thou gaveſt me, to thy glory, and my Subiects good: Thou haſt now

brought Me from the glory and freedom of a King, to be a Priſoner to my own Subiects: Juſtly, O Lord, as to thy over-ruling hand, becauſe in many things I have rebelled againſt thee.

Though Thou haſt reſtrained my Perſon, yet enlarge my heart to Thee, & thy grace towards Me.

I come far ſhort of Davids *piety; yet ſince I may equall* Davids *afflictions, give Me alſo the comforts and the ſure mercies of* David.

Let the penitent ſenſe I have of my ſins, be an evidence to me, that thou haſt pardoned them.

Let not the Evils, which I and my Kingdomes have ſuffered, ſeem little unto thee; though thou haſt not puniſhed us according to our ſins.

Turn thee [O Lord] unto Me; have mercy upon Me, for I am deſolate and afflicted.

The ſorrows of my heart are enlarged; O bring thou me out of my troubles.

Haſt thou forgotten to be gracious, and ſhut up thy loving kindneſſe in diſpleaſure?

O Remember thy compaſſions of old, and thy loving kindneſſe, which have been for many Generations.

I had utterly fainted, if I had not belived to ſee thy goodnes in the land of the living.

Let not the ſins of our proſperity deprive us of the benefit of thy afflictions.

Let this fiery tryall conſume the droſs, which in long peace and plenty we had contracted.

Though thou continueſt miſeryes, yet withdraw not thy grace; what is wanting of proſperity make up in patience and repentance.

And

And if thy anger be not to be yet turned away, but thy hand of iuſtice moſt be ſtretched out ſtill; Let it, I beſeech thee, be againſt me, and my Fathers houſe; as for theſe ſheep, what have they done?

Let my ſufferings ſatiate the malice of Mine, and thy Churches Enemies.

But let their cruelty never exceed the meaſure of my charity.

Baniſh from me all thoughts of Revenge, that I may not loſe the reward, nor thou the glory of my patience.

As thou giveſt me a heart to forgive them, ſo I beſeech thee doe thou forgive what they have done againſt thee and me.

And now, O Lord, as thou haſt given me an heart to pray unto thee; ſo hear and accept this Vow, which I make before thee.

If thou wilt in mercy remember me, and My Kingdoms; In continuing the light of thy Goſpell, and ſetling thy true Religion among us.

In reſtoring to us the benefit of the Laws and the due execution of Juſtice.

In ſuppreſſing the many Schiſms in Church, and Factions in State.

If thou wilt reſtore me and mine to the ancient Rights and glory of my Predeceſſours.

If thou wilt turne the hearts of My people to thy ſelf in Piety, to me in Loyalty, and to one another in Charity.

If thou wilt quench the flames, and withdraw the ſewell of theſe Civill Wars.

If

If thou wilt bleſs us with the freedom of publique Counſels, and deliver the Honour of Parliaments from the inſolency of the Vulgar.

If thou wilt keep me from the great offence of enacting any thing againſt my Conſcience; and eſpecially from conſenting to ſacrilegious rapines, & ſpoilings of thy Church.

If Thou wilt reſtore Me to a capacity to gloreſie Thee in doing good, both to the Church and State.

Then ſhall my ſoule praiſe thee, and magnifie thy name before my People.

Then ſhall thy glory be dearer to me then my Crownes; and the advancement of true Religion both in purity and power be My chiefeſt care.

Then will I rule my People with iuſtice, and my Kingdomes with equity.

To thy more immediate hand ſhall I ever owne as the rightfull ſucceſſion, ſo the mercifull reſtauration of My Kingdomes, and the glory of them.

If thou wilt bring Me again with peace, ſafety, & honour, to my chiefeſt City, and my Parliament.

If thou wilt againe put the Sword of Iuſtice into my hands to puniſh and protect.

Then will I make all the world to ſee, and my very Enemies to enioy the benefit of this Vow and reſolution of Chriſtian Charity, which I now make unto thee O Lord.

As I do freely pardon for Chriſt's ſake thoſe that have offended me in any kind; ſo my hand ſhall never be againſt any man to revenge what

is

is paſt, in regard of any particular iniury done to me.

We have been mutually pnniſhed in our unnaturall diviſions; for thy ſake, O Lord, & for the love of my Redeemer, have I purpoſed this in my heart That I will uſe all means in the wayes of amneſty, and indempnity, which may moſt fully remove all fears, and bury all iealouſies in forgetfulneſſe.

Let thy mercies be toward me and mine, as my reſolutions of Truth and Peace are toward my People.

Hear my prayer, O Lord, which goeth not out of fayned lips.

Bleſsed be God, who hath not turned away my prayer; nor taken his mercy from Me.

O my ſoule, commit thy way to the Lord, truſt in him, and he ſhall bring it to paſſe.

But if thou wilt not reſtore me and mine, what am I that I ſhould charge thee fooliſhly?

Thou, O Lord, haſt given, and thou haſt taken, Bleſſed be thy name.

May my people and thy Church be happy, if not by me, yet without me.

26. *Upon the Armies Surpriſall of of the* King *at* Holmeby, *and the enſuing deſtractions in the two Houſes, the Army, and the City.*

WHat part God will have Me now to act or ſuffer in this new and ſtrange ſcene of affaires, I am not much ſolicitous; ſince little practiſe will ſerve that man, who onely ſeeks to repreſent a part of honeſty and honour.

This ſurprize of Me tells the world, that a KING cannot be ſo low, but He is conſiderable; adding weight to that Party where he appeares.

This motion, like others of the Times, ſeemes excentrique and irregular, yet not well to be reſiſted or quieted: Better ſwim down ſuch a ſtream, than in vaine to ſtrive againſt it.

Theſe are but the ſtruglings of thoſe twins, which lately one womb encloſed, the younger ſtriving to prevaile againſt the elder; what the Presbyterians have hunted after, the Independents now ſeek to catch for themſelves.

So impoſſible is it for lines to be drawn from the

the center, and not to divide from each other; ſo much the wider, by how much they go farther from the point of union.

That the Builders of *Babell* ſhould from diviſion fall to confuſion, is no wonder; but for thoſe that pretend to build *Ieruſalem*, to divide their Tongues and hands, is but an ill *omen*; and ſounds too like the fury of thoſe Zealots, whoſe inteſtine bitterneſſe and diviſions were the greateſt occaſion of the laſt farall deſtruction of that City.

Well may I change my Keepers and Priſon, but not my captive condition; onely with this hope of bettering, that thoſe, who are ſo much profeſſed Patrons for the Peoples Liberties, cannot be utterly againſt the Liberty of their *King*; what they demand for their own Conſciences, they cannot in Reaſon deny to Mine.

In this they ſeem more ingenuous, than the Presbyterian rigour, who, ſometimes complaining of exacting their conformity to laws, are become the greateſt Exactors of other mens ſubmiſſion to their novell injunctions, before they are ſtamped with the Authority of Lawes, which they cannot well have without my conſent.

'Tis a great argument, that the Independents think themſelves manumitted, from their Rivals ſervice, in that they carry on a buſineſſe of ſuch conſequence, as the aſſuming My Perſon into the Armies cuſtody, without any Commiſſion,

Commiſsion, but that of their own wil and pow'er. Such, as will thus adventure on a King, muſt not bethought over-modeſt, or timerous to carry on any deſigne they have a mind to.

Their next motion menaces, and ſcares both the two Houſes and the City: which, ſoon after acting over again that former part of tumultuary motions (never queſtioned, puniſhed, or repented) muſt now ſuffer for both; and ſee their former ſin in the glaſſe of the preſent terrours and diſtractions.

No man is ſo blind as not to ſee herein the hand of divine Iuſtice; they, that by Tumults firſt occaſioned the raiſing of Arms, muſt now be chaſtened by their own Army for new Tumults.

So hardly can men be content with one ſinne, but adde ſin to ſin, till the later puniſh the former; ſuch as were content to ſee Me, and many Members of both Houſes, driven away by the firſt unſuppreſſed Tumults, are now forced to fly to an Army, to defend themſelves againſt them.

But who can unfold the riddle of ſome mens juſtice? the Members of both houſes who at firſt withdrew, (as my ſelfe was forced to doe) from the rudeneſſe of the Tumults, were counted deſertors, and outed of their Places in Parliament. Such as ſtayed then, and enjoyed the benefit of the Tumults, were aſſerted for the only Parliament

ment-men: now the Flyers from, and Forſakers of their Places, carry the Parliamentary power along with them; complain highly againſt the tumults, & vindicate themſelves by an Army: ſuch as remained and kept their ſtations, are looked upon as Abbettors of tumultuary inſolencies, and Betrayers of the Freedom and Honour of Parliament.

Thus is Power above all Rule, Order, & Law; where men look more to preſent Advantages then their conſciences, and the unchangeable rules of Juſtice; while they are Judges of others; they are forced to condemn themſelves.

Now the plea againſt Tumults hold good, the Authors and Abettors of them are guilty of prodigious inſolencies; when as before, they were counted as Friends and neceſſary Aſſiſtants.

I ſee Vengeance purſues and overtakes (as the Mice and Rats are ſaid to have done the Biſhop in *Germany*) them that thought to have eſcaped and fortified themſelves moſt impregnably againſt it, both by their multitude and compliance.

Whom the Laws cannot, God will puniſh, by their own crimes and hands.

I cannot but obſerve this divine Juſtice, yet with ſorrow and pity; for, I alwayes wiſhed ſo well to Parliament and City, that I was ſorry to ſee them do, or ſuffer, any thing unworthy ſuch

ſuch great and conſiderable bodies in this Kingdome.

I was glad to ſee them onely ſcared and humbled, not broken by that ſhaking: I never had ſo ill a thought of thoſe Cities as to deſpaire of their Loyalty to Me; which miſtakes might eclipſe, but I never believed malice had quite put out.

I pray God the ſtorm be yet wholly paſſed over them; upon whom I look, as Chriſt did ſometime over *Ieruſalem*, as objects of My prayers and teares, with compaſſionate griefe, foreſeeing thoſe ſeverer ſcatterings which will certainly befall ſuch as wantonly refuſe to be gathered to their duty: fatall blindneſſe frequently attending and puniſhing wilfull, ſo that men ſhall not be able at laſt to prevent their ſorrows, who would not timely repent of their ſin; nor ſhall they be ſuffered to enjoy the comforts, who ſecurely neglect the councels belonging to their peace. They will find that Brethren in iniquity are not far from becomming inſolent enemies, there being nothing harder then to keep ill men long in one mind.

Nor is it poſſible to gaine a faire period for thoſe notions which go rather in a round and circle of fanſie, than in a right line of reaſon tending to the Law, the onely center of publique conſiſtency; whither I pray God at laſt bring all ſides.

Which will eaſily be done, when we ſhall fully

fully ſee how much more happy we are, to be ſubject to the known Laws, then to the various wills of any men, ſeem they never ſo plauſible at firſt.

Vulgar compliance with any illegall and extravagant waies, like violent motions in nature, ſoon grows weary of it ſelfe, and ends in a refractory ſullenneſſe: Peoples rebounds are oft in their faces, who firſt put them upon thoſe violent ſtrokes.

For the Army (which is ſo far excuſable, as they act according to Souldiers principles, and intereſts, demanding Pay and Indempnity) I think it neceſſary, in order to the publike peace that they ſhould be ſatisfied, as far as is juſt; no man being more prone to conſider them then My ſelfe: though they have fought againſt Me, yet I cannot but ſo far eſteem that valour and gallantry they have ſometime ſhewed, as to wiſh I may never want ſuch men to maintaine My Selfe, My Laws, and My Kingdoms, in ſuch a peace, as wherein they may enjoy their ſhare and proportion as much as any men.

But thou, O Lord, who art perfect Vnity in a ſacred Trinity, in mercy behold thoſe, whom thy Iuſtice hath divided.

Deliver me from the ſtrivings of My People, and make Me to ſee how much they need My Prayers and pity, who agreed to fight againſt Me; and yet are now ready to fight againſt one another;

to the continuance of My Kingdomes distractions.

Discover to all sides the wayes of peace, from which they have swarved: which consists not in the divided wills of Parties, but in the point and due observation of the Lawes.

Make Me willing to go whither thou wilt lead Me by thy providence; and be thou ever with Me that I may see thy constancy in the worlds variety and changes,

Make me even such as thou wouldst have Me, that I may at last enioy that safety and tranquility which thou alone canst give Me.

Divert, I pray thee, O Lord, thy heavy wrath iustly hanging over those populous Cityes, whose plenty is prone to adde fewell to their luxury, their wealth to make them wanton, their multitudes tempting them to security, and their security exposing them to unexpected miseries.

Give them eyes to see, hearts to consider, wills to embrace, and courage to act those things which belong to thy glory and the publique peace, lest their calamity come upon them as an armed man.

Teach them, That they cannot want enemies who abound in sinne, nor shall they be long un-disarmed and un-destroyed, who, with a high hand persisting to fight gainst thee & the clear convictions of their own consciences, fight more against themselves, than ever they did against Me.

Their sinnes exposing them to thy Iustice, their riches to others injuryes, their number to Tumults, and their Tumults to confusion. Though

Though they have with much forwardneſſe helped to deſtroy Me, yet let not my fall be their ruine.

Let Me not ſo much conſider, either what they have done, or I have ſuffered, (chiefly at firſt by them) as to forget to imitate My crucified Redeemer, to plead their ignorance for their pardon; and in my dying extremities to pray to thee O Father to forgive them, for they know not what they did.

The teares they have denied me in my ſaddeſt condition, give them grace to beſtow upon themſelves who the leſſe they were for me, the more cauſe they have to weep for themſelves.

O let not my bloud be upon them and their Children, whom the fraud and faction of ſome, not the malice of all, have excited to crucifie Me.

But thou O Lord, canſt and wilt (as thou diſt my Redeemer) both exalt and perfect me by my ſufferings, which have more in them of thy mercy then of mans cruelty, or thy owne Iuſtice.



Natus May 29 An° 1630 Ætatis suæ 19

Þ

27. *To the Prince of* VVales,

SOn, if theſe Papers, with ſome others, wherein I have ſet down the private reflections of My Conſcience, and My moſt impartiall thoughts, touching the cheif paſſages, which hath been moſt remarkable, or diſputed in My late troubles, come to your hands, to whom they are chiefly deſigned; they may be ſo far uſefull to you, as to ſtate your judgement aright in what hath paſſed; whereof a pious is the beſt uſe can be made; and they may alſo give you ſome directions, how to remedy the preſent diſtempers, and prevent (if God will) the like for time to come.

It is ſome kind of deceiving and leſſening the injury of my long reſtraint, when I find My leiſure & ſolitude have produced ſomething worthy of My ſelf, and uſefull to you; That neither you, nor any other, may hereafter meaſure My Cauſe by the Succeſſe; nor My Judgement of things, by My misfortunes; which I count the greater by far, becauſe they have ſo farr lighted upon you, and ſome others, whom I have moſt cauſe to love, as well as My ſelf; and of whoſe unmerited ſufferings I have a greater ſenſe, then of Mine own.

But this advantage of wiſdome you have above other Princes; that you have begunne and now ſpent ſome years of diſcretion, in the

expetience of troubles, and exercise of patience, wherein Piety, and all Vertues, both Morall and Politicall, are commonly better planted to a thriving (as Trees set in Winter) then in the warmth and serenity of times; or amidst those delights, which usually attend Princes Courts in times of peace and plenty; which are prone, either to root up all plants of true Vertue and Honour; or to be contented only with some leaves, and withering formalities of them, without any reall fruits, such as tend to the Publick good; for which Princes should alwayes remember they are borne, and by providence designed.

The evidence of which different education the holy VVrit affords us in the contemplation of *David* and *Rehoboham*: The one prepared, by many afflictions, for a flourishing Kingdome; the other unsoftned by the unparalel'd prosperity of *Solomons* Court: and so corrupted to the great diminution, both for Peace, Honour, and Kingdome, by those flatteries, which are as unseparable from prosperous Princes, as Flies are from fruit in Summer; whom adversity, like could weather, drives away.

I had rather you should be *Charles Le Bon*, then *le Grand*, good, then great; I hope God hath designed you to both, having so early put you into that exercise of his Graces, and Gifts bestowed upon you, which may best weed out all vicious inclinations, and dispose you

you to thoſe Princely endowments, & employments, which will moſt gain the love, and intend the welfare of thoſe, over whom God ſhall place you.

With God I would have you begin and end, who is King of Kings; the Soveraign diſpoſer of the Kingdomes of the world, who pulleſt down one, and ſetteth up another.

The beſt Government, & higheſt Sove raignty you can attain to, is, to be ſubject to him, that the Scepter of his Word and Spirit may rule in your heart.

The true glory of Princes conſiſts in advancing Gods glory in the maintenance of true Religion and the Churches good; Alſo in the diſpenſation of civill Power, with Juſtice and Honour to the publike Peace.

Piety will make you proſperous; at leaſt it wil keep you from being miſerable; nor is he much a loſer, that looſeth all, yet ſaveth his own Soul at laſt.

To which center of true Happineſſe God, I truſt, hath and will graciouſly direct all theſe black lines of Affliction, which he hath bin pleaſed to draw on Me, and by which he hath (I hope) drawn me nearer to himſelf. You have already taſted of that cup, whereof I have liberally drank; which I look upon as Gods phiſick, having that in healthfulneſſe, which it wants in pleaſure. Above all I would have you, as I hope you are already, well-grounded & ſetled in your

Religion: The beſt profeſſion of which I have ever eſteemed that of the Church of *England*, in which you have been educated, yet I would have your own Iudgement and Reaſon now ſeal to that ſacred bond which education hath written, that it may be judiciouſly your owne Religion, and not other mens cuſtome or tradition, which you profeſſe.

In this I charge you to perſevere, as comming neareſt to Gods VVord for Doctrine, and to the primitive examples for Government, with ſoms little amendment, which I have otherwhere expreſſed, and often offered, though in vaine. Your fixation in matters of Religion will not be more neceſſary for your ſoule, then your Kingdoms peace, when God ſhall bring you to them.

For I have obſerved, that the Divell of Rebellion doth commonly turne himſelfe into an Angell of Reformation; and the old Serpent can pretend new Lights: VVhen ſome mens Conſciences accuſe them for Sedition and Faction, they ſtop its mouth with the name and noiſe of Religion; when Piety pleads for peace and patience, they cry out Zeale.

So that, unleſſe in this point You be well ſettled, you ſhall never want temptations to deſtroy you and yours, under pretenſions of forming matters of Religion; for that ſeemes, even to worſt men, as the beſt and moſt auſpicious beginning of their worſt deſignes.

VVhere

VVhere, beſides the Novelty which is taking enough with the Vulgar, every one hath an affection, by ſeeming forward to an outward Reformation of Religion, to be thought zealous; hoping to cover thoſe irreligious deformities whereto they are conſcious, by ſeverity of cenſuring other mens opinions or actions.

Take heed of abetting any Factions: or applying to any publick diſcriminations in matters of Religion, contrary to what is in your judgement, and the Church well ſetled; your partiall adhering, as head, to any one ſide gaines you not ſo great advantages in ſome mens hearts (who are prone to be of their Kings Religion) as it loſeth you in others; who think themſelves, and their profeſſion firſt deſpiſed, then perſecuted by you: Take ſuch a courſe as may either with calmneſſe and charity quite remove the ſeeming differences and offences by impartiality, or ſo order affairs in point of Power, that you ſhall not need to feare or flatter any Faction. For if ever you ſtand in need of them, or muſt ſtand to their curteſie, you are undone: The Serpent will devour the Dove: you may never expect leſſe of loyalty, juſtice, or humanity, than from thoſe, who engage into religious Rebellion; Their intereſt is alwaies made Gods; under the colours of Piety, ambitious policies march, not only with greateſt ſecurity, but applauſe, as to the populacy; you may heare from them *Iacob's* voyce, but you ſhall feel they have *Eſau's* hands.

Nothing

Nothing ſeemed leſſe conſiderable then the Presbyterian Faction in *England*, for many yeeres; ſo compliant they were to publique order: nor indeed was their party great either in Church, or State, as to mens judgments: But as ſoon as diſcontents drave men into Sidings (as ill humors fall to the diſſaffected part, which cauſes inflamations) ſo did all, at firſt, who affected any novelties, adhere to that Side, as the the moſt remarkable and ſpecious note of difference (then) in point of Religion,

All the leſſer Factions at firſt were officious Servants to Presbytery their great Maſters: till time and military ſucceſſe, diſcovering to each their peculiar advantages, invited them to part ſtakes; and, leaving the joynt ſtock of uniform Religion, pretended each to drive for their Party the trade of profits & preferments, to the breaking and undoing not only of the Church, and State, but even of Presbytery it *S*elfe, which ſeemed and hoped at firſt to have ingroſed all.

Let nothing ſeem little or deſpicable to you in matters which concern Religion & the churches peace, ſo as to neglect a ſpeedy reforming an effectuall ſuppreſſing Errours and Schiſms; which ſeem at firſt but as a hand bredth, by ſeditious Spirits, as by ſtrong winds, are ſoon made to cover and darken the whole Heaven.

When

VVhen you have done juſtice to God, your owne ſoule and his Church, in the profeſſion and preſervation both of truth and unity in Religion: the next maine hinge on which your proſperity will depend, and move, is, that of civil Juſtice, wherein the ſetled Lawes of theſe Kingdomes, to which you are rightly Heire, are the moſt excellent rules you can governe by; which by an admirable temperament give very much to Subjects induſtry, liberty, and happineſſe; and yet reſerve enough to the Majeſty and prerogative of any King, who ownes his People as Subjects, not as Slaves; whoſe ſubjection, as it preſerves their property, peace, and ſafety, ſo it will never diminiſh your rights, nor their ingenuous Liberties; which conſiſts in the enjoyment of the fruits of their induſtry, and the benefit of thoſe Lawes to which themſelves have conſented.

Never charge your head with ſuch a Crown, as ſhall by its heavineſſe oppreſſe the whole body, the weakneſſe of whoſe parts cannot returne any things of ſtrength, honour, or ſafety, to the head, but a neceſſary debiliatation and ruine.

Your Prerogative is beſt ſhewed and exerciſed in remitting, rather then exacting the rigor of the Lawes; there being nothing worſe than legall Tyranny.

In theſe two points, the preſervation of eſtabliſhed Religion and Lawes, I may (without vanity

vanity) turn the reproach of My ſufferings, as to the worlds cenſure, into the honour of a kind of Martyrdome, as to the teſtimony of my own Conſcience; The Troublers of My Kingdomes have nothing elſe to object againſt Me but this, That I preferre Religion and Laws eſtabliſhed before thoſe alterations they propounded.

And ſo indeed I doe, and ever ſhall, till I am convinced by better Arguments, then what hitherto hath been chiefly uſed towards Me, Tumults, Armies, and Priſons.

I cannot yet learne that leſſon, nor I hope ever will you, That it is ſafe for a King to gratifie any Faction with the perturbation of the Laws, in which is wrapt up the publick Intereſt, and the good of the Community.

How God will deal with Me, as to the removal of theſe preſſures, and indignities, which his juſtice, by the very unjuſt hands of ſome of My Subjects, hath been pleaſed to lay upon Me, I cannot tell: nor am I much ſolicitous what wrong I ſuffer from men, while I retaine in My ſoule, what I beleive is right before God.

I have offered all for Reformation and Safety, that in Reaſon, Honour, and Conſcience I can; reſerving only what I cannot conſent unto, without an irreparable injury to My owne Soule, the Church, and My People, and to You alſo, as the next and undoubted Heire of My Kingdoms.

To

To which if the divine Providence, to whom no difficulties are insuperable, shall in his due time after My decease bring you, as I hope he will; My counsell and charge to You, is; That You seriously consider the former, reall, or objected miscarriages, which might occasion My troubles, that you may avoid them.

Never repose so much upon any mans single councell, fidelity, and discretion, in managing affairs of the first magnitude, (that is, matters of Religion and Justice) as to create in Your selfe, or others, a diffidence of Your own judgement, which is likely to be alwayes more constant and impartiall to the interests of your Crowne and Kingdom then any mans.

Next, beware of exasperating any Factions by the crosnesse, and asperity of some mens passions, humours, and private opinions; imployed by You, grounded onely upon the differences in lesser matters, which are but the skirts & suburbs of religion.

Wherein a charitable connivence and Christian toleration often dissipates their strength, whō rougher opposition fortifies; and puts the despised and oppressed Party, into such Combinations, as may most enable them to get a full revenge on those they count their Persecutors; who are commonly assisted by that vulgar commiseration, which attends al, that are said to suffer under the notion of Religon.

Provided, the differences amount not to an insolent

insolent opposition of Laws, and Government, or Religion established, as to the essentials of them; such motions and minings are intollerable.

Alwaies keep up solid piety, and those fundamentall Truths (which mend both hearts; and lives of men) with impartiall favour and justice.

Take heed that outward circumstances and formalities of Religion devour not all, or the best encouragements of learning, industry, and piety; but with an equall eye, and impartiall hand, distribute favours and rewards to all men, as you find them for their reall goodnesse both in abilities and fidelity worthy and capable of them.

This will be sure to gaine You the hearts of the best, and the most too; who, though they be not good themselves, yet are glad to see the severer wayes of virtue at any time sweetned by temporall rewards.

I have, you see, conflicted with different and opposite Factions, (for so I must needs call and count all those, that Act not in any conformity to the Lawes established, in Church and State) no sooner have they by force subdued what they counted their Common Enemy, (that is, all those that have adheered to the Lawes, and to Mee) and are secured from that fear, but they are divided to so high a rivarly, as sets them more at defiance against each other, than against their first Antagonists.

Time

Time will diſſipate all factions when once the rough horns of private mens covetous and ambitious deſignes ſhall diſcover themſelves; which were at firſt wrapt up and hidden under the ſoft and ſmooth pretenſions of Religion, Reformation, and Liberty: As the Wolfe is not leſſe cruell, ſo he will be more juſtly hated, when he ſhall appear no better than a Wolf under Sheeps cloathing.

But, as for the ſeduced Train of the Vulgar, who in their ſimplicity follow thoſe diſguiſes, My charge and councel to You, is, That as You need no palliations for any deſignes, (as other men,) ſo that you ſtudy really to exceed (in true and conſtant demonſtrations of goodneſſe, piety, and virtue, towards the People) even all thoſe men, that make the greateſt noiſe & oſtentations of Religion, ſo You ſhall neither fear any detection, (as they doe, who have but the face and mask of goodneſſe) nor ſhall You fruſtrate the juſt expectations of Your People; who cannot in reaſon promiſe themſelves ſo much good from any ſubjects noveltis, as from the vertuous conſtancy of their King.

VVhen theſe mountains of congealed factions ſhall by the ſunſhine of Gods mercy, and the ſplendour of your virtues be thawed and diſſipated; and the abuſed Vulgar ſhall have learned, that none are greater Oppreſſours of their Eſtates, Liberties, and

Con-

Conſciences, than thoſe men, that entitle themſelves, The Patrons and Vindicators of them, onely to uſurp power over them; Let then no paſſion betray You to any ſtudy of revenge upon thoſe, whoſe own ſinne and folly will ſufficiently puniſh them in due time.

But as ſoon as the forked arrow of factious emulations is drawn out, uſe all princely arts, and clemency, to heal the wounds; that the ſmart of the cure may not equall the angniſh of the hurt.

I have offered Acts of Indempnity, and Oblivion, to ſo great a latitude, as may include all, that can but ſuſpect themſelves to be any way obnoxious to the Laws; and which might ſerve to exclude all future Jealouſies and ſecurities.

I would have You alwayes propenſe to the ſame way; when ever it ſhall be deſired and accepted, let it be granted, not only as an Act of State-policy and neceſſity, but of Chriſtian charity and choice.

It is all I have now left Me, a power to forgive thoſe, that have deprived Me of all; and, I thank God, I have a heart to do it; and joy as much in this grace, which God hath given Me, as in all My former enjoyments; for this is a greater argument of Gods love to Me, than any proſperity can be.

Be confident (as I am) that the moſt of all ſides, who have don amiſſe, have don ſo, not out of malice, but miſ-information, or miſ-apprehenſion of things. None

None will be more loyall and faithfull to Me and you, than thoſe Subjects, who ſenſible of their Errours, and our injuries, will feel in their own Soules moſt vehement motives to repentance; and earneſt deſires to make ſome reparations for their former defects.

As Your quality ſets You beyond any Duell with any Subject; ſo the Nobleneſſe of Your mind muſt raiſe you above the meditating any revenge, or executing Your anger upon the many.

The more conſcious You ſhall be to Your own merits, upon your People, the more prone You will be to expect all love and loyalty from them; and to inflict no puniſhment upon them for former miſcarriages: You will have more inward complacency in pardoing one, than in puniſhing a thouſand.

This I write to you, not deſpairing of Gods mercy, & My Subjects affections towards you; both which, I hope, you wil ſtudy to deſerve; yet we cannot merit of God, but by his own mercy.

If God ſhall ſee fit to reſtore Me, and You after Me, to thoſe enjoyments, which the Lawes have aſſigned to Us, and no Subjects, without an high degree of guilt and ſinne can deveſt us of; then may I have better opportunity, when I ſhal be ſo happy to ſee you in peace, to let you more fully underſtand the things that belong to Gods glory, your own honour, and the kingdoms peace.

But, if You never ſee My face againe, and God will have Me buried in ſuch a barbarous Impriſonment and obſcurity, (which the perfecting ſome mens deſignes require) wherein few hearts that love me are permitted to exchange a word, or a look with Me; I do require & entreat You as Your Father, and Your *King*, that You never ſuffer Your heart to receive the leaſt check againſt, or diſaffection from the true Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*.

I tell You, I have tried it, and after much ſearch, and many diſputes, have concluded it to be the beſt in the world; not only in the Community, as Chriſtian, but alſo in the ſpeciall notion, as Reformed; keeping the middle way between the pomp of ſuperſtitious Tyranny, and the meanneſſe of fantaſtique Anarchy.

Not but that (the draught being excellent as to the maine, both for Doctrine and Government, in the Church of *England*) ſome lines, as in very good figures, may happily need ſome ſweetning, or polliſhing; which might here have eaſily been done by a ſafe and gentle hand; if ſome mens precipitancy had not violently demanded ſuch rude Alterations, as would have quite deſtroyed all the beauty and proportions of the whole.

The ſcandall of the late troubles, which ſome may object, and urge to you againſt the Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed in *England*, is eaſily Anſwered to them, or Your owne thoughts

thoughts in this, That ſcarce any one who hath been a *Beginner*, or an active proſecutor of this late VVarre againſt the Church, the Lawes, and Me, either was, or is a true Lover, Embracer, or Practiſer of the Proteſtant Religion, eſtabliſhed in *England*: which neither give ſuch rules, nor ever before ſet ſuch examples.

'Tis true, ſome heretofore had the boldneſſe to preſent threatning Petitions to their Princes and Parliaments, which others of the ſame *Faction* (but of worſe Spirits) have now put in execution: but let not counterfeit and diſorderly zeal abate Your value and eſteem of true piety; both of them are to be *known by their fruits*; the ſweetneſſe of the Vine & Fig-tree is not to be deſpiſed, though the Brambles & Thorns ſhould pretend to bear Figs and Grapes thereby to rule over the Trees.

Nor would I have You to entertaine any averſation or diſlike of Parliaments; which, in their right conſtitution with Freedome and Honour, will never injure or diminiſh Your greatneſſe, but will rather be as interchangings of love, loyalty, and confidence, between a Prince and His People.

Nor would the events of this blacke Parliament have been other then ſuch (however much biaſſed by Factions in the Elections) if it had been preſerved from the inſolencyes of popular dictates, and tumultuary impreſſions: The ſad effects of which will, no doubt,

make all Parliaments after this more cautious to preſerve that Freedome, and Honour, which belongs to ſuch Aſſemblies (when once they have fully ſhaken off this yoke of Vulgar encroachment) ſince the publique intereſt conſiſts in the mutuall and common good both of Prince and People.

Nothing can be more happy for all, than in faire, grave, and Honourable waies to contribute their Counſels in Common, enacting all things by publique conſent; without tyranny or Tumults. We muſt not ſtarve our ſelves, becauſe ſome men have ſurfeited of wholſome food.

And if neither I, nor You, be ever reſtored to Our Rights, but God, in his ſevereſt juſtice, will puniſh My Subjects with continuance in their ſinne, and ſuffer them to be deluded with the proſperity of their wickedneſſe; I hope God will give Me, and You, that grace, which, will teach and enable Vs, to want, as well as to weare a Crowne; which is not worth taking up, or enjoying upon ſordid, diſhonourable, and irreligious terms.

Keep you to true principles of piety, virtue, and honour, you ſhall never want a Kingdom.

A principall point of your honour will conſiſt in your deferring all reſpect, love, and protection to your Mother, My Wife; who hath many waies deſerved well of Me, and chiefly in this, that (having beene a meanes to bleſſe

bleſſe Me with ſo many hopefull Children; all which, with their Mother, I recommend to your love, and care) She hath been content with incomparable magnanimity and patience to ſuffer both for, and with Me, and you.

My prayer to God Almighty, is, (what ever becomes of Me, who am, I thank God, wrapt up and fortified in My owne Innocency, and his grace) that he would be pleaſed to make you an Anchor, or Harbour rather, to theſe toſſed and weather-beaten Kingdomes; a Repairer by your wiſdome, Iuſtice, piety, and valour, of what the folly and wickedneſſe of ſome men have ſo farre ruined, as to leave nothing entire in Church or State; to the Crowne, the Nobility, the Clergy, or the Commons; either as to Lawes, Liberties, Eſtates, Order, Honour, Conſcience, or Lives.

When they have deſtroyed Me, (for I know not how farre *God* may permit the malice and cruelty of My Enemies to proceed, and ſuch apprehenſions ſome mens words and actions have already given Me) as I doubt not but My bloud will crie aloud for vengeance to heaven; ſo I beſeech God not to poure out his wrath upon the generality of the people, who have either deſerted Me, or engaged againſt Me, through the artifice and hypocriſie of their Leaders; whoſe inward horrour will be their firſt Tormenter, nor will they eſcape exemplary judgements.

For thoſe that loved Me, I pray God, they may have no miſſe of Me, when I am gone; ſo much I wiſh and hope, that all good Subjects may be ſatisfyed with the bleſſings of Your preſence & virtues.

For thoſe that repent of any defects, in their duty toward Me, as I freely forgive them in the word of a Chriſtian King, ſo I beleive You will find them truly zealous, to repay with intereſt that Loyalty and love to you, which was due to Me.

In ſumme, what good I intended, do you performe; when God ſhall give You power: much good I have offered, more I purpoſed to church and State, if times had been capable of it.

The deception will ſoon vaniſh, and the Vizards will fall off apace; This maske of Religion on the face of Rebellion (for ſo it now plainly appears, ſince My reſtraint and cruell uſage, that they fought not for Me, as was pretended) will not long ſerve to hide ſome mens deformities.

Happy times I hope attend you; wherein Your Subjects (by their miſeries) will have learned, That Religion to their God, and Loyalty to their King, cannot be parted without both their ſin & their infelicity

And if God bleſſe You, and eſtabliſh your Kingdomes in righteouſneſſe, your Soule in true Religion, and your honour in the love of God and your People.

And

and which are leſſened or enlarged as the Sun of our proſperity moves higher or lower : whoſe totall abſence is beſt recompenſed with the dew of Heaven.

The aſſaults of affliction may be terrible; like *Sampſon's* Lyon, but they yeeld much ſweetneſſe to thoſe, that dare to encounter and overcome them; who know how to overlive the witherings of their Gourds without diſcontent or peeviſhneſſe, while they may yet converſe with God.

That I muſt dye as a man, is certain; that I may dye a King, by the hands of My own Subjects, a violent, ſodain & barbarous death; in the ſtrength of my years, in the midſt of My Kingdoms; My Freinds and loving Subjects being helples Spectators; My Enemies inſolent Revilers and Triumphers over me; living, dying, & dead, is ſo probable in humane reaſon; that God hath taught me not to hope otherwiſe as to mans cruelty; however, I deſpair not of Gods infinite marcy.

I know my life is the object of the Devils & wicked mens malice; but yet under Gods ſole cuſtody and diſpoſall: Whom I do not think to flatter for longer life by ſeeming prepared to dye, but I humbly deſire to depend upon him, and to ſubmit to his will both in Life and death, in what order ſoever he is pleaſed to lay them out to me. I confeſſe it is not eaſie for me to contend with thoſe many horrors of death, wherewith God ſuffers me to be tempted; which are equally horrid, either in the ſuddenneſſe

neſſe of a barbarous Aſſaſination; or in thoſe greater formalities, whereby my Enemies (being more ſolemnly cruell) will, it may be, ſeek to add (as thoſe did who Crucified Chriſt) the mockery of Juſtice, to the cruelty of malice: That I may be deſtroyed, as with greater pomp and artifice, ſo with les pitty, it wil be but a neceſſary pollicy to make my death appeare as an act of Juſtice, don by Subjects upon their Soveraigne, who know that no Law of God or Man inveſts them with any power of Judicature without me, much leſſe againſt me: and who, being ſworn, and bound by all that is ſacred before God and Man, to endeavour my preſervation, muſt pretend Juſtice to cover their perjury.

It is, indeed, a ſad fate for any man to have his Enemies to be Accuſers, Parties, and Judges; but moſt deſperate, when this is acted by the inſolence of Subjects againſt their Soveraigne; wherein thoſe, who have had the chiefeſt hand, and are moſt guilty of contriving the publike Troubles, muſt by ſhedding my blood ſeem to waſh their owne hands of that innocent bloud whereof they are now moſt evidently guilty before God and Man; and I beleive in their own Conſciences too, while they carried on unreaſonable Demands; Firſt by Tumults, after by Armies. Nothing makes meane ſpirits more towardly-cruel in managing their uſurped power againſt their lawfull Superiours

periours than this, the *Guilt of their uniuſt Uſurpation:* notwithſtanding thoſe ſpecious and popular pretenſions of Juſtice againſt Delinquents applyed only to diſguize at firſt the monſtrouſneſſe of their deſigns, who deſpaired, indeed, of poſſeſſing the power and profits of the Vineyeard, till the heire whoſe right it is, be caſt out and ſlaine.

With them my greateſt fault muſt be, that I would not either deſtroy My ſelfe with the Church and State by my Word, or not ſuffer them to do it unreſiſted by the Sword; whoſe covetous ambition no Conceſsions of Mine could ever yet either ſatisfie, or abate.

Nor is likely they will ever think, that Kingdome of brambles which ſome men ſeek to erect (at once, weak, ſharp, and fruitleſſe, either to *God* or Man) is like to thriue till watred with the Royal bloud of thoſe, whoſe right the Kingdom is. Wel, Gods will be don, I doubt not but my Innocency will find him both my protectour, and my Advocate who is my only Iudge, whom I owne as King of Kings, not onely for the eminency of his power and Majeſty above them; but alſo for that ſingular care and protection, which he hath over them: who knows them to be expoſed to as many dangers (being the greateſt Patrons of Law, Juſtice, Order, & Religion on earth) as there be either men or Devills; which love confuſion.

Nor will he ſuffer thoſe Men long to proſ-

per

ſper in their *Babel*, who build it with the bones, and cement it with the bloud of their Kings.

I am confident they will find Avengers of my death amongſt themſelves: the injuries I have ſuſteined from them ſhall be firſt puniſhed by them, who agreed in nothing ſo much as in oppoſing Me.

Their impatience to bear the loud cry of My bloud, ſhall make them thinke no way better to expiate it, than by ſhedd ing theirs, who, with them, moſt thirſted after Mine.

The ſad confuſions following my deſtruction, are already preſaged and confirmed to Me by thoſe I have lived to ſee ſince My troubles; in which God alone (who only could) hath many wayes pleaded my cauſe; not ſuffering them to go unpuin ſhed, whoſe confederacy in ſin was their only ſecurity; who have cauſe to fear that God wil both further divide, and by mutual vengeance, afterwards deſtroy them,

My greateſt conqueſt of Death is from the power and love of Chriſt, who hath ſwallow'd up death in the Victory of his Reſurrection, and the glory of his Aſcention.

My next comfort is, that he gives me not onely the honour to imitate his example in ſuffering for righteouſneſſe ſake, (thongh obſcured by the fouleſt charges of Tyranny and injuſtice) but alſo, that charity, which is the nobleſt revenge upon, and victory over My Deſtroyers;

Deſtroyers: By which, I thank God, I can both forgive them, & pray for them, that God would not impute My bloud to them further then to convince them, what need they have of Chriſts bloud to waſh their ſoules from the guilt of ſhedding Mine.

At preſent, the will of My Enemies ſeems to be their only rule, their power the meaſure, and their ſucceſſe the Exactor, of what they pleaſe to call Juſtice; while they flatter themſelves with the fancy of their owne ſafety by my danger, and the ſecurity of their lives and deſignes by My Death: forgetting, that as the greateſt temptations to ſinne are wrapped up in ſeeming proſperities, ſo the ſevereſt vengeance of God are then moſt accompliſhed, when men are ſuffered to compleat their wicked purpoſes. I bleſſe God, I pray not ſo much, that this bitter cup of a violent death may paſſe from Me, as that of his warth may paſſe from all thoſe whoſe hands, by deſerting Me, are ſprinkled, or by acting and conſenting to My death, are embrued with My bloud.

The will of *God* hath confined, and concluded Mine; I ſhall have the pleaſure of dying, without any pleaſure of deſired vengeance.

This I think becomes a Chriſtian toward his Enemies, and a King toward his ſubjects.

They cannot deprive Me of more than I am content to loſe, when God ſees fit by their hands to take it from me; whoſe mercy, I believe,

leive, will more then infinitely recompence what ever by mans injuſtice, he is pleaſed to deprive me of.

The glory attending my death will farre ſurpaſſe all I could enjoy, or conceive in life.

I ſhall not want the heavy and envyed Crownes of this world, when my God hath mercifully Crowned and Conſummated his graces with Glory, and exchanged the ſhadows of my earthly Kingdomes among men, for the ſubſtance of that Heavenly Kingdom with himſelfe.

For the cenſures of the world; I know the ſharpe and neceſſary tyranny of my Deſtroyers will ſufficiently confute the calumnies of tyranny againſt me; I am perſwaded I am happy in the judicious love of the ableſt and beſt of my Subjects, who doe not onely pity and pray for me, but would be content even to dye with me, or for me.

Theſe know how to excuſe my failings; as a man, and yet to retaine and pay their duty to me as their King; there being no religious neceſſity binding any Subjects by pretending to puniſh, infinitely to exceede, the faults and errours of their Princes; eſpecially there, where more then ſufficient ſatisfaction hath been made to the publike; the enjoyment of which, private ambitions have hitherto fruſtrated.

Others, I beleive, of ſofter tempers, and leſſe advantaged by my ruine, doe already feel ſharp con-

convictions, and ſome remorſe in their conſciences: where they cannot but ſee the proportions of their evill dealings againſt me in the meaſure of Gods retaliations upon them who cannot hope long to enjoy their owne thumbs and toes, having under pretence of paring others nails, bin ſo cruell as to cut off their chiefeſt ſtrength.

The puniſhment of the more inſolent and obſtinat may be like that of *Korah* and his complices (at once mutining againſt both Prince and Prieſt) in ſuch a method of divine juſtice, as is not ordinary; the earth of the loweſt and meaneſt people opening upon them, and ſwallowing them up in a juſt diſdain of their ill-gotten and worſe-uſed Authority: upon whoſe ſupport and ſtrength they cheifly depended for their building and eſtabliſhing their deſignes againſt me, the Church and State.

My chiefeſt comfort in death conſiſts in My peace, which I truſt, is made with God; before whoſe exact tribunall I ſhal not fear to appear, as to the Cauſe ſo long diſputed by the ſword, between me and my cauſleſſe Enemies, where I doubt not but his righteous judgment will confute their fallacy, who from worldly ſucceſſe (rather like Sophiſters, than ſound Chriſtians) draw thoſe popular concluſions for Gods approbation of their actions; whoſe wiſe providence (we know) oft permits many events which his revealed word (the only clear, ſafe and fixed

rule of good actions & good conſciences) in no ſort approves.

I am confident the Juſtice of My Cauſe, and clearneſſe of my conſcience before God and toward my people wil carry me as much above them in Gods deciſion, as their ſucceſſes have lifted them above me in the vulgar opinion who conſider not, that many times thoſe undertakings of men are lifted up to heaven in the proſperity and applauſe of the world, whoſe riſe is from Hell, as to the injuriouſneſſe and oppreſſion of the deſigne. The proſperous winds which oft fill the ſayles of Pyrates, doth not juſtifie their piracy and rapine.

I look upon it with infinite more content and quiet of Soule, to have been worſted in my enforced conteſtation for, and Vindication of the Laws of the Land, the freedome and honour of Parliaments; the rights of My Crown, the juſt liberty of My Subjects, and the true Chriſtian Religion in its Doctrine, Government and due encouragements, then if I had, with the greateſt advantanges of ſucceſſe, overborn them all, as ſome men have now evidently done; whatever deſignes they at firſt pretended.

The prayers and patience of my Freinds and loving Subjects will contribute much to the ſweetning of this bitter cup, which I doubt not but I ſhall more cheerefuly take and drink as from Gods hand (if it muſt be ſo) than they can it

give it me, whoſe hands are unjuſtly and barbarouſly lifted up againſt me.

And as to the laſt event, I may ſeeme to owe more to my Enemies, than my Freinds; while thoſe will put a period to the ſinnes and ſorrows attending this miſerable life wherewith theſe deſire, I might ſtill contend.

I ſhall be more then Conquerour through Chriſt enabling me: for whome I have hitherto ſuffered: as he is the Authour of Truth, Order, and Peace; for all which I have beene forced to contend againſt Errour, Faction and confuſion.

If I muſt ſuffer a violent death with my Saviour; it is but mortality crowned with martyrdome: where the debt of death, which I owe for ſinne to nature, ſhall be raiſed, as a gift of faith and patience offered to God.

Which I humbly beſeech him mercifully to accept; and although Death be the wages of my owne ſinne, as from God, and the effect of other ſinnes, as men, both againſt God and me; yet as I hope my owne ſinnes are ſo remitted, that they ſhall be no ingredients to imbitter the cup of my death, ſo I deſire God to pardon their ſinnes, who are moſt guilty of my deſtruction.

The Trophees of my charity will be more glorious and durable over them, than their ill-managed victories over me.

Though their ſin be proſperous, yet they had need to be penitent, that they may be pardoned:

Both which, I pray God they may obtaine: that my temporall Death unjuſtly inflicted by them, may not be revenged by Gods juſt inflicting eternall death upon them: for I look upon the temporall deſtruction of the greateſt King, as far leſſe deprecable, than the eternall damnation of the meaneſt Subject.

Nor do I wiſh other, than the ſafe bringing of the ſhip to ſhore, when they have caſt me overboard; though it be very ſtrange, that Marriners can find no other means to appeaſe the ſtorme, themſelves have raiſed, but by drowning their Pilot.

I thank *God*, my Enemies cruelty cannot prevent my preparation; whoſe malice in this I ſhall defeat, that they ſhall not have the ſatisfaction to have deſtroyed my Scule with my Body; of whoſe ſalvation, while ſome of them have themſelves ſeemed, and taught others to deſpaire, they have only diſcover'd this, that they do not much deſire it.

VVhoſe uncharitable and cruell Reſtraints, denying me even the aſſiſtance of any of my Chaplains, hath rather enlarged, than any way obſtructed my acceſſe to the Throne of Heaven. *where thou dwelleſt, O King of Kings; who filleſt Heaven and Earth, who art the fountain of eternall life, in whom is no ſhadow of death.*

Thou O God, art both the iuſt Afflicter of Death upon us, and the mercifull Saviour of us in it, and from it.

Yea

Yea, it is better for us to be dead to our ſelves and live in thee, than by living in our ſelves to be deprived of thee.

O make the many bitter agravations of my death as a Man, and a King, the opportunities and advantages of thy ſpeciall graces and comforts in my Soule, as a Chriſtian.

If thou Lord wilt be with me, I ſhall neither fear nor feel any evill, though I walk through the valey of the ſhadow of death.

To contend with death is the work of a weak and mortall man; to overcome it is the grace of thee alone, who art the Almighty and immortal God.

O My Saviour, who knoweſt what it is to dye with Me, as a Man; make Me to know what it is to paſs through death to life with thee My God.

Though I dye, yet I know, that thou my Redeemer liveſt for ever: though thou ſlayeſt Me, yet thou haſt incouraged me to truſt in thee for eternal life.

O withdraw not thy favour from me, which is better than life.

O be not farre from me, for I know not how neer a violent and cruel death is to Me.

As thy Omniſcience, O God, diſcovers; ſo thy Omnipotence can defeat the deſignes of thoſe who have, or ſhall conſpire my deſtruction.

O ſhew me thy goodneſſe of thy will, through the wickedneſſe of theirs.

Thou giveſt me leave as a man to pray, that this cup may paſſe from me; but thou haſt taught Me as a Chriſtian by the example of Chriſt to adde, not my will, but thine be done.

Yea

Yea Lord, let our wills be one, by wholy resolving mine into thine: let not the desire of life in me be so great, as that of doing or suffering thy will in either life or death.

As I believe thou hast forgiven all the errors of my life, so I hope thou wilt save me from the terrours of my death.

Make me content to leave the worlds nothing, that I may come really to enioy all in thee, who hast made Christ unto me in life, gaine, and in death, advantage.

Though my destroyers forget their duty to thee and me, yet do not thou, O Lord, forget to be mercifull to them.

For, what profit is there in my bloud, or in their gaining my Kingdoms, if they lose their own Souls?

Such as have not only resisted my iust Power, but wholy usurped and turned it against my selfe, though they may deserve, yet let them not receive to themselvs damnation.

Thou madest thy Son a Saviou to many that Crucified Him, while at once he suffered violently by them, and yet willingly for them.

O let the voice of his bloud be heard for My murtherers, louder than the cry of mine against them.

Prepare them for thy mercy by due convictions of their sinne, and let them not at once deceive and damme their owne Soules by fallacious pretentions of Iustice in destroying me, while the conscience of their uniust usurpation of power against me, chiefly tempts

tempts them to uſe all extremities againſt me.

O Lord, thou knoweſt I have found their mercies to me as very falſe, ſo very cruell, who pretending to preſerve me, have meditated nothing but my ruine.

O deal not with them as bloud-thirſty and deceitfull men, but overcome their cruelty with thy compaſſion and my charity.

And when thou makeſt inquiſition for My bloud, O ſprinkle their polluted, yet penitent Souls with the bloud of thy Sonne, that thy deſtroying Angell may paſſe over them.

Though they think my Kingdoms on earth too little to entertaine at once both them and me, yet let the capacious Kingdome of thy infinite mercy at laſt receive both me and my enemies.

When being reconciled to thee in the bloud of the ſame Redeemer, we ſhall live farre above theſe ambitious deſires, which beget ſuch mortall enmities.

When their hands ſhall be heavieſt, and cruelleſt upon me, O let me fall into the arms of thy tender and eternall mercies.

That what is cut off of my life in this miſerable moment: may be repaiedin thy ever, bleſſed eternity.

Lord, let thy Servant depart in peace, for my eyes have ſeen thy ſalvation.

Vota dabunt, quæ bella negârunt.

FINIS.

A

Perfect Copie of

PRAYERS,

Uſed by His

MAJESTIE

In the time of His

Sufferings

Delivered to Doctor Iuxon, *Biſhop of* LONDON, *Immediatly before his Death.*

Alſo a Copy of a Letter from the

PRINCE.

Printed *Anno Domini* 1649.

A Prayer in time of Captivitie.



Powerful and Eternal God! to whom nothing is ſo great that it may reſiſt; or ſo ſmall, that it is contemned; look upon My miſery with thine eye of Mercy, & let Thine infinite power vouchſafe to limit out ſome proportion of deliverance unto Me, as to Thee ſhal ſeem moſt convenient; let not Injury, O Lord, triumph over Me; and let My faults by thy hand be corrected; & make not My unjuſt enemies the miniſters of thy Juſtice: But yet my God, if in Thy wiſdom this be the apteſt chaſtiſement for my unexcuſable tranſgreſſions; if this ingratefull bondage be fitteſt for my overhigh deſires; if the pride of my (not enough humble) heart be thus to be broken O Lord, I yeeld unto Thy will, and cheerfully embrace what ſorrow thou wilt have Me ſuffer: Onely thus much let Me crave of Thee, (Let my craving, O Lord, be accepted of, ſince it even proceeds from Thee) that by thy goodnes which is Thy ſelf, Thou wilt ſuffer ſome beam of thy Majeſty ſo to ſhine in My mind, that I, who in My greateſt Afflictions acknowledge it My nobleſt Tytle to be thy creature, may ſtill depend

confidently on Thee. Let Calamity be the exerciſe but not the overthrow of My Virtue. O let not their prevailing power be to My deſtruction. And if it be Thy will that they more & more vex Me with puniſhment; yet, O Lord, never let their wickedneſſe have ſuch a hand, but that I may ſtill carry a pure mind, and ſtedfaſt reſolution ever to ſerve Thee, without fear or preſumption, yet with that humble Confidence which may beſt pleaſe Thee; ſo that at the laſt I may come to Thy eternall Kingdome through the Merits of Thy Son our alone Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. *Amen.*

Another PRAYER.

ALmighty and moſt mercifull Father, look down upon Me Thy unworthy ſervant, who here proſtrate My ſelfe at the Foot-ſtoole of Thy Throne of Grace; but look upon Me, O Father, through the Mediation and in the Merits of Jeſus Chriſt in whom Thou art only well pleaſed; for, of My ſelfe I am not worthy to ſtand before Thee, or to ſpeak with My unclean lips to Thee moſt holy and eternall God; for as in ſin I was conceived and borne, ſo likewiſe I have broken all Thy Command ements by My ſinfull motions, unclean thoughts, evill words, and wicked works; omitting many duties I ought to do, and committing many vices which

thou

Thou haſt forbidden under paine of thy heavy diſpleaſure: as for my ſins, O Lord, they are innumerable; wherefore I ſtand here liable to all the miſeries in this life, and everlaſting Torments in that to come; if Thou ſhouldſt deale with me according to My deſerts. I confeſſe, O Lord that it is Thy Mercy, (which endureth for ever) and Thy compaſſion (which never fails,) which is the cauſe that I have not been long ago conſumed: but with Thee there is mercy and plenteous Redemption; in the multitude therefore of Thy Mercies and by the Merits of Jeſus Chriſt, I intreat Thy Divine Majeſty, that thou wouldſt not enter into judgement with Thy ſervant, nor be extream to mark what is done amiſſe, but be thou mercifull unto Me, and waſh away all My ſins with that pretious bloud that My Saviour ſhed for Me. And I beſeech thee, O Lord, not only to waſh away all My ſins, but alſo to purge my heart by thy holy ſpirit, from the droſſe of my natural corruption; & that thou doſt adde dayes to my life, ſo good Lord, I beſeech thee, to ad repentance to My dayes, that when I have paſt this mortall life, I may be partaker of thy everlaſting Kingdome, through the Merits of Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. *Amen.*

A PRAYER *and* CONFESSION, *made in and for the times of Affliction.*

ALmighty and moſt mercifull Father, as it is only Thy goodneſſe that admits of Our im-

perfect Prayers, and the knowledg that thy mercies are infinite, which can give Us any hope of thy accepting or granting thē; ſo it is our bounden and neceſſary duty to confeſſe our ſins freely unto thee; & of all men living, I have moſt need, moſt reaſon, ſo to do, no man having been ſo much obliged by Thee, no man more grievouſly offending Thee: that degree of knowledge which thou haſt given me, adding likewiſe to the guilt of my tranſgreſsions. For was it through ignorance, that I ſuffered innocent bloud to be ſhed by a falſe pretended way of juſtice? or that I permitted a wrong way of thy Worſhip, to be ſet up in *Scotland?* and injured the Biſhops in *England?* O no; but with ſhame and grief I confeſſe, that I therein followed the perſwaſions of worldly wiſdom, forſaking the Dictates of a right-informed Conſcience: wherfore, O Lord, I have no excuſe to make, no hope left, but in the multitude of Thy mercies; for I know My repentance weak, & My prayers faulty: grant therfore merciful father, ſo to ſtrengthen My repentance, and amend My prayers, that Thou mayeſt cleare the way for thine own mercies, to which O let Thy Juſtice at laſt give place, putting a ſpeedy end to My deſerved afflictions.

In the mean time give Me Patience to endure, Conſtancy againſt Temptations, and a diſcerning ſpirit, to chuſe what is beſt for thy Church, and People which thou haſt committed

to

to My Charge. Grant this, O moſt merciſull Father, for thy Son Jeſus Chriſts ſake, our onely Saviour. *Amen.*

A PRAYER *in time of emminent Danger.*

O Moſt merciſull Father, though My ſins are ſo many and greivous, that I may rather expect the effects of Thy anger, than ſo great a deliverance, as to free Me from My preſent great danger, yet, O Lord, ſince thy mercies are over all thy works, and Thou never faileſt to relieve all thoſe who with humble and unfeigned repentance come to thee for ſuccour, it were to multiply, not diminiſh My tranſgreſsions to deſpair of thy heavenly favour: wherefore I humbly deſire Thy Divine Majeſty, that thou wilt not only pardon al My ſins, but alſo free Me out of thy hands, & protect Me frō the malice of My cruel Enemies. But if Thy wrath againſt My hainous Offenſes wil not otherwayes be ſatisfied, than by ſuffering Me to fall under My preſent afflictions, Thy will be done; yet with humble Importunity, I do and ſhall never leave to implore the aſſiſtance of thy heavenly Spirit, that My cauſe, as I am thy Vicegerent may not ſuffer through My weakneſſe, or want of courage. O Lord, ſo ſtrengthen and enlighten all the faculties of My mind, that with clearneſſe I may ſhew

forth Thy Truth, and manfully endure this bloudie Tryal, that ſo My ſufferings here may not only glorifie Thee, but likewiſe be a furtherance to my ſalvation hereafter. Grant this, O mercifull Father, for his ſake who ſuffered for Me, even Jeſus Chriſt the Righteous. *Amen.*

A Copie of a Letter which was ſent from the PRINCE to the KING; Dated from the *Hague Jan.* 23. 1648.

SIR,

HAving no means to come to the knowledge of your Maieſties preſent condition, but ſuch as I receive from the Prints, or (which is as uncertain) Report, I have ſent this Bearer Seamour *to wait upon your Maieſty; and to bring me an account of it: that I may withall aſſure your Maieſty, I doe not onely pray for your Maieſty according to my Duty; but ſhall alwayes be ready to do all which ſhall be in my power, to deſerve that bleſſing which I now humbly beg of your Maieſty upon.*

SIR,

HAGVE
Ian. 23.
1648.

Your MAJESTIES
moſt humble and moſt
obedient ſon and ſervant
CHARLES.

The Superſcription was thus,

For the King.

Munday 29. January, 1648.

A true Relation of the KINGS Speech to the Lady ELIZABETH, and the Duke of GLOCESTER, the day before His Death.

HIS Children being come to meet Him, He first gave his blessing to the Lady *Elizabeth*; and bad her remember to tel her Brother *James*, when ever shee should see him, That it was his Fathers last desire, that he should no more look upon *Charles* as his eldest Brother only, but be obedient unto him, as his Soveraigne; and that they should love one another, and forgive their Fathers Enemies. Then said the *King* to her, Sweet-heart you'l forget this: No (said she) I shall never forget it while I live: And pouring forth abundance of Tears, promised Him to write down the Particulars.

Then the *King* taking the Duke of *Glocester* upon his Knee, said, Sweet-heart, now they will cut off thy Fathers Head; (Upon which words the Child looked very stedfastly on him.) Mark Child what I say, They will cut off My Head, and perhaps make thee a King: But mark what I say, You must not be a King, so long as your Brothers *Charles* and *James* do live; For they will cut off your Brothers heads (when they can catch them) and cut of thy head too at the last; and therefore, I charge you, do not be made a King by them. At which the child, sighing, said, I'll be torne in pieces first. Which falling so unexpectedly from one so young, it made the King rejoyce exceedingly. Another

Another Relation from the Lady Elizabeths *owne Hand.*

WHat the King ſaid to me the nine and twentieth of *Jan.* 1648. being the laſt time I had the happineſſe to ſee him, He told Me, He was glad I was come, and although he had not time to ſay much, yet ſomewhat He had to ſay to me, which he had not to another, or leave in writing, becauſe he feared their Cruelty was ſuch, as that they would not have permitted him to write to Me. He wiſhed me not to greive & torment my ſelf for Him; for that would be a glorious death that He ſhould die; it being for the Laws and liberties of this land, & for maintaining the true Proteſtant Religion. He bid me read Biſhop *Andrews* Sermons, *Hookers Eccleſi. aſticall Policy*, and Biſhop *Lauds* Book againſt *Fiſher*, which would ground Me againſt Popery. He told me, He had forgiven al his Enemies, and hoped God would forgive them alſo; and commanded Us, and all the reſt of My Brothers and Siſters to forgive them: He bid me tell my mother, That His thoughts had never ſtrayed from Her, and that His Love ſhould be the ſame to the laſt. Withall He commanded me & my brother to be obedient to Her. And bid me ſend his Bleſſing to the reſt of my Brothers and Siſters, with Commendation to all His Friends: So after He had given me His Bleſſing, I tooke my leave. Fur-

Further, He commanded us all to forgive those people, but never to trust them; for they had bin most false to Him, and to those that gave them power, and He feared also to their own soules; And desired me not to grieve for Him, for He should dye a Martyr, And that He doubted not but the Lord would settle His Throne upon His Son, and that we should be all hapier, than We could have expected to have been, if He had lived: With many other things, which at present I cannot remember.

ELIZABETH.

Another Relation from the Lady Elisabeth.

THE KING said to the Duke of *Glocester*, that He would say nothing to him but what was for the good of his soul: He told him, that He heard that the army intended to make him King but it was a thing not for him to take upon him, if he regarded the welfare of his soul; for he had two Brothers before him; & therefore commanded him upon His blessing, never to accept of it, unles it redounded lawfully upon him: And commanded him to fear the Lord, and he would provide for him.

Copia Vera

An

An Epitaph upon King CHARLS.

SO falls that ſtatly Cedar; while it ſtood
That was the onely glory of the VVood;
Great *Charles*, thou earthly God, celeſtial Man,
VVhoſe life, like others, though it were a ſpan:
Yet in that ſpan, was comprehended more
Than Earth hath waters, or the Ocean ſhore;
Thy heavenly virtues, Angels ſhould rehearſe,
It is a theam too high for humane Verſe:
He that would know the right, then let him look
Vpon Thy rare-incomparable Book,
And read it o're and o're; which if he do,
Hee'l find thee *King*, and *Prieſt*, & *Prophet* too;
And ſadly ſee our loſſe, and though in vain,
VVith fruitleſſe wiſhes, call thee back againe.
Nor ſhall oblivion ſit upon thy Herſe, (Verſe.
Though there were neither Monument, nor
Thy Sufferings and thy death let no man name;
It was thy Glory, but the Kingdoms Shame.

J. H.